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The school board appointed a Committee on Race and Education to determine if Portland schools deprived the children of one race the educational opportunities afforded to those of other races; what might be done to improve the achievement of students in culturally deprived areas of the city; and what might the school system do through its educational processes to eliminate prejudice in the minds of children.

Among the recommendations made directly affecting the school system were: that a model school program be established to bring intensive educational efforts to bear on a number of elementary schools, with a community agent to assist the principal in planning after-school and evening activities for children and parents; that parents be given the option of transferring a child from the neighborhood school to any school where a vacancy exists in the grade, provided the parent assumes responsibility for transportation and attendance; that the superintendent undertake a re-evaluation of the adequacy of the high school curriculum; that high schools of occupation-oriented programs be established; that counseling services be provided on the basis of need, not according to a fixed formula; that programs be established which would create maximum opportunity for children of different races to work together without discrimination.

Recommendations affecting the community included: that the school board urge employers to make efforts to hire qualified individuals for on-the-job-training, regardless of achievement on conventional tests, and that an appropriate government agency establish a referral service designed to give advice and assistance on how to secure housing and how to deal with real estate brokers and lending institutions.

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RACE AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN PORTLAND'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Report to the

BOARD OF EDUCATION, MULTNOMAH SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1

by its

COMMITTEE ON RACE AND EDUCATION
HERBERT M. SCHWAB
Chairman

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October 29, 1964
Portland, Oregon

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Stalvey

RACE AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN PORTLAND'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Report to the

Board of Education

Multnomah County School District No. 1

by its

COMMITTEE ON RACE AND EDUCATION

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October 29, 1964

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Race and Education was appointed by the Portland School Board as the result of an expressed concern in our city and in the nation for equality of educational opportunity. The School Board charged our Committee to determine the following:

"1) Does the Portland school district, to any extent, deprive the children of one race of education opportunities equal to those of other races? If so, what corrective steps should be taken?

"2) What might be done to improve achievement of students in culturally deprived areas of the city in meeting the educational objectives of this school system?

"3) What might the school system do through its educational processes to eliminate unreasoned prejudice in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race?"

No single agency of society can hope to accomplish all the purposes relevant to these important questions. It is nevertheless likely that the schools can be the single most important agency of social change both with respect to handicaps arising from cultural or economic deprivation and with respect to problems of racial isolation.

By themselves the schools, however willing, cannot break down residential restrictions, nor guarantee jobs, nor eliminate prejudice, nor abolish poverty, nor conquer apathy and delinquency. So, for this reason, we have broadened our study and recommendations to include the larger social context in which the educational problems occur and the agencies allied with the schools which can help to reaffirm and reinterpret and carry out our goals.

In this Report we present our analysis of the issues and the reasons for our recommendations. We are convinced that the problems which gave rise to our study demand correction. To make our position clear, we wish to state here some beliefs which underlie the program of action we recommend.

1) We believe that it is necessary to reaffirm and reinterpret for our time the traditional American values of equal rights, equal opportunity, and the dignity of the individual.

2) We believe it is essential that all men have genuine equality of opportunity so that all may become fully integrated into America's political, cultural and economic life. To us in its best sense this requires the erasure of artificial barriers to the exercise of free choice by individuals, and the creation of conditions, particularly of the intellect, which will allow individuals to make reasonable choices from an entire spectrum of choices.

3) We believe that an educational process, more specifically and effectively directed toward upgrading achievement of disadvantaged children, will move our society toward truer equality of opportunity for all children.

4) We believe that today the most disadvantaged minority group in our society, in Portland as in most other parts of our country, is the Negro. His opportunities for achievement are complicated by racial segregation and this requires special attention.

5) We believe that the schools, in concert with other agencies of the community, must act to overcome the barriers, disadvantages and frustrations which hamper the equality of opportunity that is essential to American society.

In the hope that we can contribute, we submit this Report to the Board of Education of Multnomah County School District No. 1 and also to the community of which we are a part.

SPECIAL NOTE

The reader will note that we have already used the word "integrated" in the Introduction to this Report. One of the most difficult tasks which the Committee faced was that of bringing into focus a precise meaning for the term "integration" and the various other terms which have, in recent years, been used as key concepts in describing the American Negro and his relationship to American schools and society. These terms, we found, elicit not only widely differing intellectual responses, but a variety of emotional reactions as well. Unfortunately, no simple definition can be given for most of these terms. Part XII of this Report presents our efforts at clarification of these concepts. Whenever throughout this Report we have used any of these terms it is important that the reader understand them with all of the nuances and clarifications we have given them in Part XII.

PART I

PLAN AND
WORK OF
THE COMMITTEE

PART I

PLAN AND WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

The Portland Public Schools express their educational purposes as three-fold: To train children to become good citizens; to give children a sense of their social heritage; and to develop a skill in learning and a body of knowledge which will enable them to continue their education and fit into contemporary society.[1] These purposes and goals are consistent both with the traditional view of education and with the increasing demands of an evolving society. These purposes and goals are equally applicable to all children and to all schools.

Most persons tend to assume that within the Portland system the schools are generally equal in the quality of education which they provide, even though they recognize some differences attributable to the residential areas in which a particular school is located. In recent years, beyond any doubt, this system has become increasingly effective in dealing with children who are highly motivated, who have unusual ability, who are destined to be college bound. Whether this system is equally effective in dealing with other children is a question which has not been so prominently posed.

In the spring of 1963 a group of interested citizens, the Committee on Racial Imbalance, stimulated by local problems and by questions being raised in other parts of the United States, inquired whether equal educational opportunities were being provided, particularly in five elementary schools where Negro children appeared in substantial numbers. In response, the School Board created the present Committee.

The questions posed this Committee by the School Board could not be answered, we felt, unless we addressed ourselves to the fundamental bases upon which our public schools are organized and by means of which they attempt to educate the individual child. Early in our investigation we agreed we must investigate the educational process irrespective of popular conceptions or misconceptions. We felt we must set forth all the material facts if our Report and recommendations are to carry the weight necessary to convince both the Board and the community which supports our schools by tax levies and patronage.

---

[1] L. E. Winter, Report to the Committee on Race and Education (Portland: Portland Public Schools, September 20, 1963), p. 2.

To ascertain the facts, the Committee divided into six substantive subcommittees for independent inquiry and report.[2] The full Committee viewed all the subcommittee's reports and herein makes its Final Report. The substantive subcommittees and their areas of general responsibility were:

1) School Plant and Operations - the facts about the quality of school plant and program.

2) Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity - the degree to which Portland's public school graduates are qualified for employment and the opportunities which are available.

3) Effect of Racial Residential Patterns on School Enrollment and Achievement - the degree to which residential patterns affect enrollment patterns, now and in the past, and likely future developments in this regard.

4) Effect of Community and Home Environment on Educational Achievement - establishing the facts of environment and the degree to which environment in Portland may affect the quality of the program in various schools.

5) Relation of Private Youth Serving Agencies to Educational Achievement - the degree to which private agencies do and could assist schools in motivation and achievement of disadvantaged children.

---

[2] Subcommittee membership is reported in Appendix A. Subcommittee reports and minutes are on file in School District No. 1 Curriculum Library.

6) Relation of Government Agencies to Educational Achievement - the degree to which non-school government agencies do and could assist schools in motivation and achievement of disadvantaged children.

Each substantive subcommittee held hearings and interviewed both school and non-school witnesses, with the latter testifying both as individuals and as representatives of organizations interested in the problems of race and education. We sought all views, placing notices in local newspapers inviting testimony and statements of position; in addition, letters of invitation to testify were sent to individuals and organizations which the Committee had reason to believe would be interested in offering information.

We also sent a Traveling Subcommittee to Detroit, Michigan, New York City, New York, and St. Louis, Missouri, to visit disadvantaged schools and to interview school personnel and community spokesmen in those cities. Committee staff also visited Seattle. In arranging an itinerary for the Traveling Subcommittee we examined available literature on methods proposed to solve problems of race and education throughout the United States. Unfortunately, cities with populations approximating that of Portland were at the same stage of examining the problems as this city, including Denver, Minneapolis, Oakland, Berkeley and others. The literature appeared to advance St. Louis, Detroit and New York City as unusually active and having programs already in effect. Consequently, these cities were selected for visits from the Traveling Subcommittee.

- 0 -

It may be clarifying to distinguish between the general aspects of our study on which we found virtual unanimity of opinion and those on which there was divided opinion.

There is virtual, although not absolute, unanimity among members of this Committee and those citizens whose opinions were brought before us as to these generalizations:

1) Racial integration will have been achieved when citizens of all races shall have been assimilated into the educational, cultural, social, political and economic spheres of life. This, for many Negroes, remains a goal unattained. The quest for racial assimilation parallels the one-time goal of ethnic integration,

which has been virtually accomplished in our community.

2) Concentration of students of the Negro race as it exists in some Portland schools demonstrates community conditions inimical to the furtherance of racial integration in Portland and to the threefold educational objectives proposed by the Portland Public School system, hence it is an undesirable situation and one which society must seek to change.

3) Federal and state laws prescribe as a minimum that public agencies be non-discriminatory in policy and practice. But the present context of American life demands more. It demands that these agencies exercise statesmanship -- recognizing community problems arising from racial discrimination, recognizing the influence they can have in contributing to solutions to such community problems, and taking steps consistent with the limitations on government in a free society in order to assure that the opportunities and services they offer are truly available to all citizens regardless of race.

On the other hand, we have found differences of opinion on:

1) The means to be used to further the goal of racial integration and to correct undesirable community situations which produce racial concentrations in some Portland schools.

2) The extent and kind of efforts that may appropriately be taken by public and private agencies.

In the course of examining the Portland situation we have made an effort to evaluate what has occurred in other cities, what has been proposed by local interested citizens and what we have discovered in the course of our study. We have also considered various solutions proposed regarding the responsibility and the extent of the effort to be made by public and private agencies.

However, it is most important to emphasize that our conclusions and recommendations are not intended to be definitive, abstract, universally applicable solutions to either the problems of furthering racial integration or resolving public and private responsibilities in this matter. Our conclusions and recommendations are instead directed toward providing solutions to problems which exist in Portland here and now.

Further, our recommendations in our judgment are practical as well as practicable. They are within the resources which the School Board and the community can bring to bear to achieve these degrees of progress. Hence they can be undertaken.

It is the prudent judgment of the members of the Committee on Race and Education that the recommendations contained in this Report have a greater certainty of success than those offered by any alternatives. If they are carried out we are convinced that significant steps in correcting the problems which gave rise to this study will have been taken.

PART II

SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL POLICIES

PART II

SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL POLICIES

Physical and Political Characteristics

Multnomah County School District No. 1 is the largest in Oregon in assessed valuation, expenditures and persons served. It includes portions of Multnomah, Clackamas, and Washington Counties but its major component is the City of Portland.

In 1963-64 it filled 137 square miles, 63 square miles of which were outside the city. The most recent (1962) school census indicated a school age population (4-19 years) of nearly 107,000. A total of 84,198 different children were enrolled at one time or another during the 1963-64 school year. The District employs approximately 4,700 persons, 3,400 of whom are certificated, in 112 school buildings located on 850 acres of grounds; the original cost of the plant, ground and furnishings was $97 million.[1]

The District has an assessed valuation (1963-64) of $836.8 million. It operates on a budget (1964-65) approximating $50 million of which approximately $33 million will be raised from local property taxes. The system is debt free except for small amounts accruing from recently annexed areas.[2] Like all Oregon units of government, the school district is subject to statutory and constitutional limitations on increases in budget and debt contraction. This often requires that questions of major expense be submitted to the people for their vote.

The District is governed by an elected, unpaid Board of seven members. This Board's meetings and its records are open to the public. The District itself is autonomous from other local

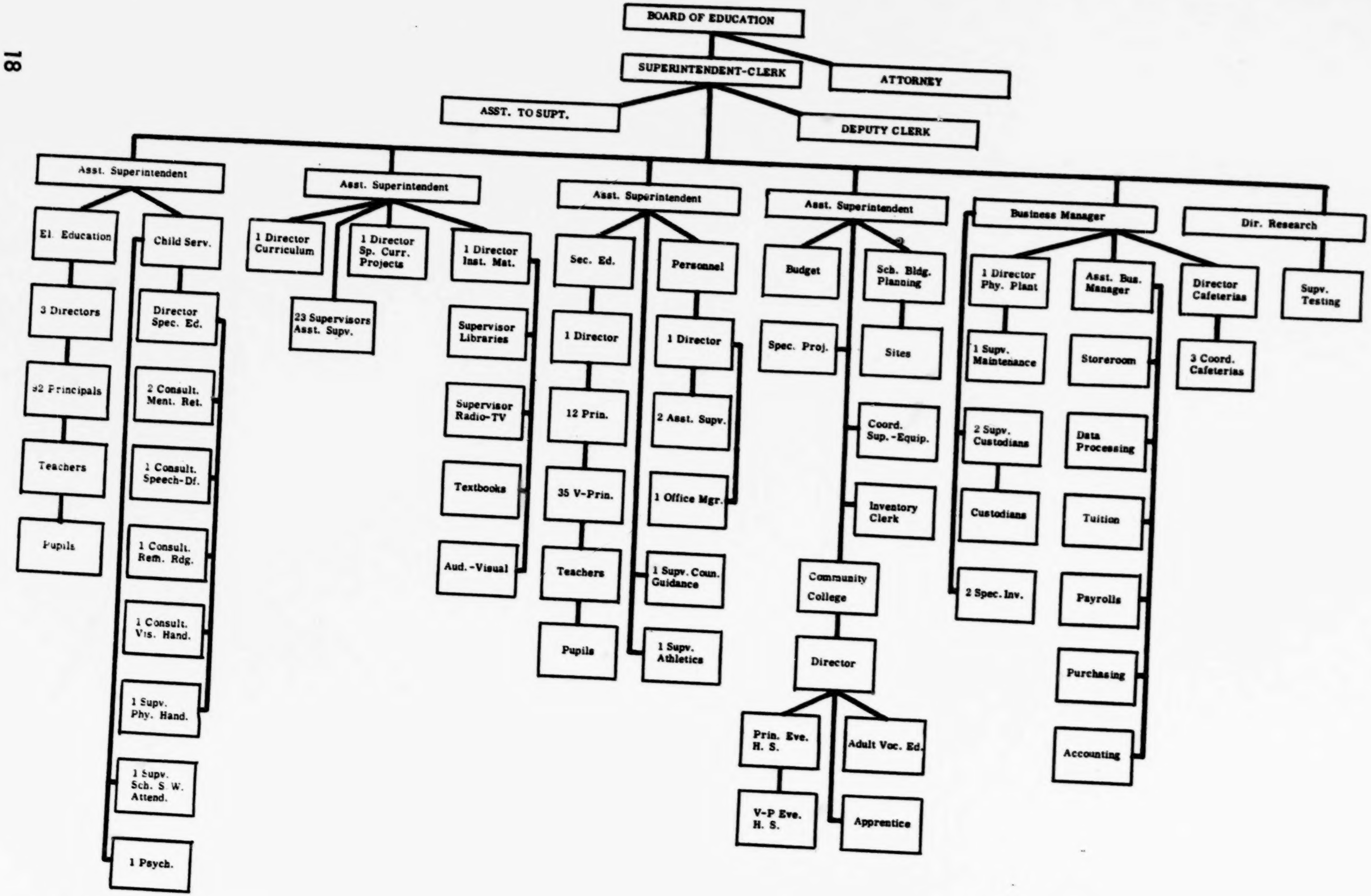
---

[1] School District No. One, Financial Memorandum (Portland: School District No. One, June 30, 1964), p. 2. Figures do not include facilities of Columbia, annexed July 1, 1964.

[2] Board of Education, Office of the Assistant Clerk.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Melvin W. Barnes, Superintendent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1 Consult. Vis. Hand.
1 Supv. Phy. Hand.
1 Supv. Sch. S W. Attend.
1 Psych.
Asst. Superintendent
1 Director Curriculum
23 Supervisors Asst. Supv.
1 Director Sp. Curr. Projects
1 Director Inst. Mat.
Supervisor Libraries
Supervisor Radio-TV
Textbooks
Aud.-Visual
Asst. Superintendent
Sec. Ed.
1 Director
12 Prin.
35 V-Prin.
Teachers
Pupils
Personnel
1 Director
2 Asst. Supv.
1 Office Mgr.
1 Supv. Coun. Guidance
1 Supv. Athletics
Asst. Superintendent
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Spec. Proj.
Sch. Bldg. Planning
Sites
Coord. Sup.-Equip.
Inventory Clerk
Community College
Director
Prin. Eve. H. S.
V-P Eve. H. S.
Adult Voc. Ed.
Apprentice
Business Manager
1 Director Phy. Plant
1 Supv. Maintenance
2 Supv. Custodians
Custodians
2 Spec. Inv.
Asst. Bus. Manager
Storeroom
Data Processing
Tuition
Payrolls
Purchasing
Accounting
Director Cafeterias
3 Coord. Cafeterias
Dir. Research
Supv. Testing

governmental units, being a creature of the state. In other words, the School Board's responsibility is to the people of the District rather than to the municipality, as is the case in some other states, and the voters' reactions on questions of policy are reflected with relative speed in Board, budget, levy or bonding elections.

The District is administered by a Superintendent of Schools, appointed by the Board. The administration and staff of the District are organized horizontally under the Superintendent, as shown in Chart 1.

The Neighborhood School Policy

School District No. 1 for many years has followed the practice of organizing its grade and high schools by neighborhood attendance districts.

In recent years school locations have been planned in cooperation with the Portland City Planning Commission. Since about 1950 in each instance an effort has been made to locate a school adjoining a park, with boundaries so drawn that the school is in the center of the neighborhood so no child need cross arterials nor be more than one mile from school. High schools are likewise located, although their attendance districts embrace a number of grade school attendance districts.

Because of long-range planning, the School District already owns a good many of the sites it will need in the next twenty years.

The essence of the neighborhood school is proximity. It provides a centrally located school within walking distance of the children it serves. It provides a central playground facility, associates children with playmates in the same locale, and to a lesser but varying degree provides a neighborhood center.

Transportation of children has on occasion been arranged to accomplish certain purposes. Transportation can increase the geographic area served by one school beyond a strict neighborhood concept, and is sometimes necessary to get children to special classes or to relieve crowding in a given school. Transportation of children at school district expense has not been used to date for other purposes.[3]

The School Board has not drawn grade school attendance district boundaries with an apparent purpose of either increasing or decreasing the numbers of white and Negro children in any school, nor to affect the socio-economic composition of the student body of any school. But as we shall see later, racial compositions of schools have been affected by shifting populations within attendance districts which ordinarily had been relatively stable for many years.

The controversy which occurred when the new Eliot School was proposed in 1956 is an example. The site was recommended by the Planning Commission. Some Negroes opposed it on the ground that it would be a predominantly Negro school. Other Negroes advocated it because they wanted a new school in their neighborhood which would not require children to cross a number of busy streets.[4] The Board concluded it should not alter its normal policies and proceeded with the new school.[5]

School Transfer and Transportation Policies

As a corollary to the general principle of the neighborhood school, transfers are allowed only for special reasons and are very carefully controlled.[6]

Many years ago the policy was less strict, but with increasing population and rapid changes in residential area characteristics the School Board found it necessary to limit transfers in order to prevent wholesale shifts of students. For example, as the percentage of white children with depressed socio-economic backgrounds rose at Chapman, the families residing in the Westover area, a part of the Chapman attendance district, sought to transfer their children to Ainsworth; also, as the percentage of Negro children in Holladay grew, white parents sought to transfer their children to Irvington. Such efforts were resisted by the Board.[7]

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[3] Winter, op. cit., pp. 7-8; Minutes of the meeting, November 18, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 16-18; and A. DeBernardis, Minutes of the meeting, December 2, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 21.

[4] Betye Lois Boyd, "Varying Perspectives on the Eliot School Problem" (unpublished Bachelor's thesis, Reed College, Portland, Oregon, June, 1957).

[5] Herbert M. Schwab, Minutes of the meeting, December 2, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 22.

[6] W. A. Oliver, Minutes of the meeting, October 21, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 12.

Transfers which are approved under present policy are hardship cases, such as both parents working with after-school child care available in another attendance district, or properly authenticated medical or emotional problems.[8]

The neighborhood school principle has had other exceptions. At the grade school level these largely involve students who are transferred to schools outside their neighborhoods in order to provide special classes for mental retardation and other physical handicaps.[9] In addition, some transportation of students from one attendance district to another has been carried out to relieve crowding in the neighborhood district.[10] The administration announced several plans for doing this as the 1964-65 school year commenced. At the high school level other exceptions to the neighborhood school policy occur. For example,

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[7] Schwab, op. cit., p. 23.

[8] Research Memorandum, "Hardship Transfer Requests Out of Predominantly Negro Schools, 1962-63" (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, November 22, 1963), pp. 34-43; M. W. Field, Minutes of the meeting, December 2, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 23; and Minutes of the meeting, November 18, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 17.

[9] Department of Research and Measurements, A Study of Child Services (Portland: Portland Public Schools, April, 1963); and Edgar A. Taylor, Minutes of the meeting, December 2, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 24-25.

[10] Oliver, loc. cit. This is done in many school systems. See United States Commission on Civil Rights, "Problems of Segregation and Desegregation of Public Schools," Synopsis of Conference Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, A Staff Report (Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights, May 3 and 4, 1963), p. 11.

Girls Polytechnic and Benson Polytechnic accept students irrespective of attendance district who seek the specialized curriculum of those schools. In recent years students from the Grant district, which has been overcrowded, have been allowed to attend Lincoln, then underutilized.[11]

Also, in recent years as distant elementary school districts have been annexed to School District No. 1, the Board has agreed to provide transportation of high school students resident in the distant districts to Portland high schools. The newly annexed areas had provided transportation for their high school students prior to annexation.[12]

Physical Facilities

The physical plant facilities provided for grade school districts vary in age and structural adequacy, but are in general adequate and distributed as equally as possible under changing conditions. Put another way, there is no evidence that fewer or poorer school facilities have been provided for districts with the least socio-economic advantages or with the least influence. There are however some schools which are overcrowded including both high and low economic areas.

Curriculum Policies

The program of teaching and the curriculum provided for each grade school is to a considerable extent centrally controlled by the administration and is essentially the same for all grade schools.

In general an effort is made to see that each school gets an equal share per capita of equipment and materials.[13]

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[11] Oliver, loc. cit. Grant students must exercise the option at the beginning of the freshman year and attend Lincoln throughout their high school career.

[12] At present this policy covers high school students in these former independent districts: Skyline, Sylvan, Whitaker and Columbia. Source: Oliver.

[13] Research Memorandum, "Proposed Outline of Study," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, November 18, 1963), pp. 23 and 27.

There has been in the past insufficient analysis by the administration of differing needs of particular schools for teaching methods, curriculum or educational materials,[14] although the administration has recognized in theory that different schools require a great variation in methods.[15]

Class Sizes

The average elementary class size is 28.9 in the Portland system,[16] although an effort has been made to reduce this in certain schools which are recognized as having special educational problems.

Class sizes for regular classrooms are generally uniform within a school. Some special classes are smaller.

There does not appear to have been any extensive consideration at the administrative level as to whether some classes of some children may be handled effectively with a greater number of children in order to reduce the class size in the same school for other classes.[17] We understand one disadvantaged school is now experimenting with smaller classes for discipline problem children.

Personnel Assignment

The Board appears to have assigned principals of high quality to many districts which fall into a low socio-economic status.[18] There is no evidence of any practice of assigning principals or teachers of lesser quality to schools in which Negroes predominate, nor to schools of the least socio-economic status.

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[14] Schwab, op. cit., p. 24; Roscoe Nelson, "Proposed Outline of Study" (statement for the Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations preliminary report), (Portland: Committee on Race and Education, December 9, 1963).

[15] Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 32-34.

[16] Research Memorandum, "Proposed Outline of Study," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, October 21, 1963), p. 7.

[17] Teachers report that some types of children can be handled in groups larger than 30 with success. It also appears that experimental schools in depressed areas elsewhere handle large classes quite successfully.

However, for eosons which we shall explore and which are characteristic of such schools in Portland, teacher turnover tends to be higher in such schools. Because fewer tenure teachers will select a disadvantaged school, such schools obtain a higher proportion of probationary young teachers who do not have as great an ability to influence their own assignment.[19] Until very recently, there had been no appeal to teachers to select these schools and no public recognition of those who have done so.

Negro Teachers

We have received no substantiated suggestions of discrimination or lack of interest in hiring Negro teachers who are qualified.

It appears that more Negro teachers, of whom there are now 56 in Portland schools (one on leave), are assigned to predominantly Negro schools than their number would warrant. The seven grade schools which in 1963-64 had more than 20% Negro children had 60% of the Negro teachers.[20] This did not appear to involve any question of discrimination. The 1963-64 ratio of assignment has been somewhat modified for the 1964-65 school year; three Negro teachers resigned during the summer, and two of these were from schools with high Negro enrollment; nine new Negro teachers were hired, and of the nine only one was assigned to a school with a significant proportion of Negroes.[21]

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[18] The same situation has been noted in Oakland, California; see Oakland Public Schools, "Compensatory Education in Oakland," Superintendent's Bulletin (Vol. XLIV, No. 7. Oakland: Oakland Public Schools, October 25, 1963), p. 29. Generally, an area of low socio-economic status has a low level of income, a high rate of unemployment and underemployment; high incidence of welfare, delinquency and broken homes; a low level of adult education, home ownership and structure conditions. Most such information can be obtained from census data.

[19] Research Memorandum, November 18, 1963, op. cit., pp. 21-22; Research Memorandum, "The Composition of the Staff in Portland Elementary Schools," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, May 14, 1964), pp. 148-151.

[20] George Lightowler, Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 29.

Whether assignment of Negro teachers to predominantly Negro schools is wise is a matter upon which informed persons disagree.[22] One side of the argument is that Negro pupils more quickly establish rapport with a Negro teacher; the other side is that contacts between a qualified Negro teacher and white pupils and parents benefit inter-racial understanding. We believe there are advantages to having Negro teachers more widely scattered through the school system since this would result in additional contact among individuals of different races under favorable circumstances.

During the 1964-65 school year there will be one or more Negro teachers in 30 of the system's 104 elementary and secondary schools, or 29% of all schools. In 1959-60, Negro teachers represented 1.1% of the teaching staff; this rose to 1.5% in 1963-64. In 1959-60, Negroes represented .3% of new teachers hired in that year; this rose to 1.7% in 1963-64.[23]

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[21] Source: District No. 1 Personnel Department.

[22] George V. Guy, Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 31.

[23] Winter, op. cit., pp. 21 and 23.

PART III

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS
AND
ENROLLMENT
CHARACTERISTICS

PART III

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND ENROLLMENT CHARACTERISTICS

Racial Enrollment Characteristics

We have seen that the neighborhood school attendance policy with a few exceptions results in both elementary and high school youngsters attending the school in whose attendance district they reside. Racial residential patterns therefore affect the proportion of any ethnic stock found in a given school.

Shortly we shall more closely examine development of Negro residential patterns in Portland. For the present we note that the patterns which existed in 1963 and 1964 resulted in the enrollment characteristics noted in Tables 1 and 2 and the map which faces this page.

Table 1

Negro Enrollment in Portland High Schools, 1963-64, 1964-65

High School	1963-64 Enrollment	1963-64[a] Negroes	1963-64 % Negro	1964-65 Enrollment	1964-65[b] Negroes	1964-65[c] % Negro
Benson	1,911	79	4	1,860	67	4
Cleveland	2,283	29	1	2,264	20	1
Franklin	2,262	13	1	2,225	20	1
Girls Poly	514	84	16	516	80	16
Grant	3,038	181	6	2,971	196	7
Jefferson	2,315	597	26	2,220	619	28
Lincoln	1,448	32	2	1,400	54	4
Madison	2,530	9	-	2,551	6	-
Marshall	2,246	5	-	2,228	12	1
Roosevelt	1,870	65	3	1,834	70	4
Washington	1,472	87	6	1,502	99	7
Wilson	2,530	1	-	2,568	0	0
Totals	24,419	1,182	5	24,139	1,243	5

a. 1963-64 figures from headcount during second week of school, September, 1963.

b. 1964–65 figures from headcount during second week of school, September, 1964.

c. The 1964–65 figures were received at the time this Report went to press and do not figure in textual discussions. The textual generalizations based on 1963–64 figures seem to be equally valid respecting the 1964–65 figures. It is significant that in one year there has been a decrease in the number of high school students but more than a 5% increase in the number of Negro high school students, although no significant changes in distribution are apparent.

NOTE: In "% Negro" columns, "-" denotes less than 1%.

Table 2

Negro Enrollment in Portland Grade Schools, 1963–64, 1964–65

Grade School	1963–64 Enrollment	1963–64[a] Negroes	1963–64 % Negro	1964–65 Enrollment	1964–65[b] Negroes	1964–65[c] % Negro
Abernethy	569	22	4	580	27	5
Ainsworth	672	0	0	776	2	-
Alameda	931	4	-	983	6	1
Applegate	242	7	3	286	4	1
Arleta	883	11	1	885	1	-
Astor	552	1	-	546	2	-
Atkinson	705	0	0	673	0	0
Ball	271	32	12	260	37	14
Barlow	289	0	0	281	0	0
Beach	696	48	7	743	52	7
Beaumont	908	2	-	871	2	-
Binnsmead	611	0	0	591	0	0
Boise	945	910	96	941	899	96
Bridger	504	1	-	515	0	0
Bridlemile	689	0	0	689	0	0
Brooklyn	468	13	3	447	10	2
Buckman	671	19	3	706	11	2
Capitol Hill	553	1	-	512	1	-
Chapman	781	3	-	769	4	1
Chief Joseph	470	1	-	509	0	0
Clark	652	0	0	657	0	0
Collins View	561	0	0	547	0	0
Columbia				312	4	1

Table 2--Continued

Grade School	1963-64 Enrollment	1963-64[a] Negroes	1963-64 % Negro	1964-65 Enrollment	1964-65[b] Negroes	1964-65[c] % Negro
Couch	326	1	-	420	13	3
Creston	674	1	-	720	8	1
Duniway	789	2	-	724	2	-
Edwards	274	3	1	290	2	-
Eliot	330	317	96	344	325	94
Faubion	560	12	2	545	17	3
Fernwood	849	4	-	799	3	-
*Foster				156	2	1
George	653	4	1	628	4	1
Glencoe	838	5	1	847	2	-
Glenhaven	517	0	0	503	0	0
Gray	838	0	0	840	0	0
Gregory Heights	720	3	-	726	2	-
Grout	819	3	-	819	2	-
Hayhurst	649	0	0	665	0	0
Highland	1,057	838	79	1,013	884	87
Holladay	290	162	56	301	203	67
Hollyrood	206	0	0	256	0	0
Hosford	800	15	2	822	18	2
Humboldt	347	305	88	352	324	92
Irvington	772	323	42	757	366	48
James John	752	4	1	710	2	-
Kellogg	802	1	-	817	2	-
Kelly	786	0	0	784	0	0
Kennedy	667	13	2	628	22	4
Kenton	502	6	1	492	13	3
Kerns	246	6	2	210	4	2
Lane	914	10	1	886	10	1
Laurelhurst	885	2	-	872	1	-
Lee	714	0	0	704	0	0
Lent	788	11	1	823	12	1
Lewis	517	2	2	597	3	1
Linnton	122	0	0	125	0	0
Llewellyn	557	3	1	545	3	1
Maplewood	399	0	0	380	0	0
Markham	849	0	0	906	0	0

*Foster School was Steele School in 1963-64.

Table 2--Continued

Grade School	1963-64 Enrollment	1963-64[a] Negroes	1963-64 % Negro	1964-65 Enrollment	1964-65[b] Negroes	1964-65[c] % Negro
Marysville	617	8	1	662	3	-
Meek	243	0	0	260	1	-
Mt. Tabor	613	2	-	653	3	-
Multnomah	739	0	0	756	0	0
Normandale	192	2	1	184	3	2
Ockley Green	834	17	2	863	46	5
Peninsula	836	114	14	849	130	15
Portsmouth	1,130	37	3	1,197	86	7
Rice	230	0	0	222	0	0
Richmond	782	4	1	788	6	1
Rigler	597	4	1	613	2	-
Rose City Park	855	0	0	873	0	0
Sabin	662	173	26	683	224	33
Sacajawea	284	0	0	303	1	-
Scott	713	1	-	704	0	0
Sellwood	884	0	0	854	9	1
Shattuck	258	6	2			
Sitton	575	0	0	602	1	-
Skyline	296	12	4	307	9	3
Smith	250	0	0	254	0	0
*Steele	169	2	1			
Sunnyside	762	0	0	738	1	-
Sylvan	242	0	0	249	0	0
Terwilliger	314	36	11	284	25	9
Vernon	853	99	12	849	133	16
Vestal	797	3	-	782	9	1
West Sylvan	403	0	0	394	0	0
Whitaker	541	9	2	347	2	1
Whitman	735	0	0	708	1	-
Wilcox	247	1	-	218	1	-
Wilson Park	247	0	0	337	0	0
Woodlawn	802	179	22	805	218	27
Woodmere	558	4	1	576	3	1
Woodstock	985	5	1	940	5	1
Youngson	329	2	1	307	1	-
Totals	55,005	3,851	7	55,246	4,234	8

*Steele School renamed Foster for 1964-65.

a. 1963-64 figures from headcount during second week of school, September, 1963.

b. 1964-65 figures from headcount during second week of school, September, 1964.

c. The 1964-65 figures were received as this Report went to press and do not figure in our textual discussion. The generalizations based on 1963-64 figures seem to be equally valid respecting the 1964-65 figures. It is significant that in one year there has been nearly a 10% increase in the number of Negro elementary pupils even though there has not been a significant change in distribution.

NOTE: In "% Negro" columns, "-" denotes less than 1%.

So, in 1963-64, six of Portland's 92 grade schools enrolled 75% of Portland's Negro elementary-age children: Holladay, Eliot, Boise, Humboldt, Highland and Irvington. Jefferson High School, one of 12 Portland public secondary schools, enrolled 51% of the city's Negro high school students. Jefferson, Washington and Grant together had 75% of Portland's Negro high school students.

Racial Residential Patterns

The enrollment by race reported in Tables 1 and 2 are the end result of a rapid expansion in recent years of the primary area of Negro residence in Portland, expansion both in terms of population and geography. Changes in the population characteristics of the area generally referred to as Albina[1] are shown in Table 3.

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[1] We have arbitrarily fixed "Albina" as the attendance districts of elementary schools (K-8) with Negro enrollments exceeding 25% in 1963-64. These were Boise, Highland, Sabin, Irvington, Eliot, Holladay. This area includes 11 census tracts.

Table 3

Negro and White Population in Albina[a]

	1960	1950	1940
Number of whites	20,896	34,856	35,873
Number of Negroes	12,239	5,131	1,481
Percentage of whites	62.1%	86.4%	94.6%
Percentage of Negroes	36.4%	12.7%	3.9%

a. Research Memorandum, Miscellaneous No. 4, November 12, 1963.

These increases in population coupled with the neighborhood school attendance district policy resulted in marked changes in elementary school enrollment by race as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Percentage of Negro Children in Selected Schools[a]

School	1964	1963	1960	1955	1950	1940
Boise	96	96	94	75	35	5
Eliot	94	96	96	85	55	10
Humboldt	92	88	75			
Highland	87	79	75	60	15	3
Holladay	67	55	55	50	45	3
Irvington	48	41	30	15	10	2
Sabin	33	26	15	5	3	0
Woodlawn	27	22	15	10	5	1

a. The percentages of Negro enrollment for 1963 and 1964 were derived from September headcounts. Percentages for prior years are estimates made in 1964 by Assistant Superintendent Oliver.

These changes are a direct result of these shifts in Negro residential patterns:

1) In 1940, 57% of Portland's 1,931 Negro citizens were concentrated in the area between Northeast Interstate Avenue and Northeast Union Avenue, and south of Northeast Fremont Street, which is now one of the most disadvantaged areas in the city.

2) By 1950 the city Negro population had grown to 9,529 and the primary Negro residential area had spilled north of Fremont and east of Union, but 47% were still within the area.

3) By 1960 many Negroes were living as far north as Northeast Killingsworth Street and as far east as Northeast 18th Avenue, and as far south as the Banfield Freeway, the area which now is often referred to as "Albina"; 78% of the city's Negroes now live in this expanded area.[2]

While it is true that approximately three-quarters of Portland's Negro population is concentrated in Albina, it is equally true that the remaining quarter is dispersed through the rest of the community. This dispersal of a portion of the Negro population is of long-standing in Portland. In 1940 there were Negroes resident in 53 of Portland's then 60 census tracts; in 1950 Negroes were residing in 58 of the city's then 61 tracts; in 1960 Negroes were resident in 90 of the 105 census tracts. This dispersal also held generally true for other portions of the Portland Metropolitan Area, although in 1960 only about 1,000 Negroes lived in the Metropolitan Area outside the city boundaries of Portland.[3]

The fact that 22% of Portland's Negroes live outside Albina does not argue that Negroes can move at will from their primary area of residence. Some of these live just outside the present heavily Negro district, constituting the advance wave of expanding Albina. Others have settled in small pockets in other sections, such as the community near the old Failing School. And a few are integrated into white neighborhoods.

There are many reasons why Negroes find it difficult to move. But the primary reasons can be briefly stated.

1) Historically in America, Negroes and other minorities originally gravitated or were restricted to well defined and less desirable residential areas.

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[2] Research Memorandum, "Portland and Metro Population Characteristics, 1940-1960" (Miscellaneous, July 16, 1964), pp. 49-50.

[3] Ibid., pp. 48-51.

2) Residential mobility through a community is to a large extent governed by economic mobility. Poverty is a significant factor in the Negro's inability to acquire better accommodations; his ability to purchase desirable property has on the average been low, as we shall later see. If patterns of housing discrimination in Portland were eliminated with one stroke, economic limitations would still weigh heavily against the mobility of large numbers of our Negro citizens; if economic disabilities could be eliminated at a stroke the discrimination pattern would probably not seem so prominent. The fact is that it takes better income from secure jobs to buy or rent at a higher level. (However, in the census tracts in question there is a significant number of owner-occupied homes valued at between $10,000 and $14,900 as well as rental units wherein the gross rent runs from $79 to $99 monthly.[4])

3) It is natural for new arrivals to seek out people they have known; this plus economic necessity produces a segregation of its own.

4) The Negro who can afford to move out of Albina and who desires to do so must overcome psychological self-blocks. There are many Negroes in Albina who in one way desire to move and in another way are reluctant to do so because of the possible opposition they may face.

5) There is also difficulty of movement due to a pattern of white resistance to Negro movement into predominantly white areas of the city.[5]

Since these residential patterns have had a marked effect on the racial mixture in Portland schools, future shifts in population will likewise affect the mixture. Is greater residential assimilation of Negroes into the general community feasible or probable on any scale?

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[4] Research Memorandum (Miscellaneous, No. 1, October 21, 1963), pp. 1-12.

[5] The Urban League of Portland, Nonwhite Neighbors and Property Prices in Portland, Oregon and Residential Attitudes Toward Negroes as Neighbors, two surveys (Portland: The Urban League of Portland, 1956); League of Women Voters of Portland, A Study of Awareness of the Oregon Fair Housing Law and a Sampling of Attitudes Toward Integrated Neighborhood Living (Portland: League of Women Voters, May, 1961); Robert E. Agger, "A Report to the Committee on Race and Education on Negro and White Citizen Attitudes and Perspectives on Race Relations in Portland" (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, October 18, 1963), p. 2. (Mimeographed)

After considering a variety of techniques for determining Negro attitudes and future intentions regarding housing, such as surveys and questionnaires, we came to the conclusion that we could not accurately determine future Negro school population trends by such methods. We continued to believe it necessary, however, to determine whether present predominantly Negro schools would experience a change in ratio of Negro students if improving economic status enabled families to move to other areas. It was necessary to determine the following facts:

1) Would Negroes voluntarily move from the Albina area and if so what percentage would do so?

2) Would it be possible for Negroes who chose to move to dispose of their Albina properties and finance and buy homes elsewhere?

3) Would real estate agents and loan agencies treat Negroes in an unbiased manner?

4) Would predominantly white neighborhoods raise material objections to Negro families moving in?

These questions were also of interest to the Portland Development Commission. The Development Commission has been studying the possibility of clearance and redevelopment in the Eliot School and Emanuel Hospital areas and is required to aid in the relocation of those displaced by urban renewal. Thus, the Development Commission wanted to know how much difficulty, if any, it might have relocating large numbers of Negroes.

We consequently joined with the Development Commission in a Development Commission-operated demonstration project through which a qualified staff was to assist 25 volunteer, financially-qualified Negro families now residing in the Albina area, to move to non-Negro neighborhoods. The 25 qualified families were to be selected in order of application with the assistance of a committee of Negro leaders from the Albina area. The referral project staff was to assist these Negro families in disposing of their present Albina property, in finding suitable housing elsewhere, in arranging for financing, etc., on an advisory, non-subsidy basis. Records were to be kept which would allow analysis of the degree of response on the part of Negroes to the offer of assistance; the economic capabilities of those who asked assistance; of the proportion of those applying that persevered in their determination to relocate despite difficulties; and of the nature and degree of difficulties encountered.

It has become obvious that only a limited response could be expected in the time available. Information was circulated through Albina by several means, including distribution of materials by the Urban League, churches in the area and other organizations, and some media publicity. But less than a half dozen inquiries were received, and none of these developed into a Negro family resolved to move from Albina. We, of course, realize that the purchase of a home, or the sale of one home and the purchase of another, plus a move to a new neighborhood is a major decision in any family; thus a rapid response cannot be expected.

In the process of setting up the project, our subcommittee and Development Commission staff members discussed problems with representative realtors, real estate brokers, lending institution officials, the NAACP, the Urban League, the Albina Ministerial Association, and with other Albina community leaders. Through these contacts we have come to the conclusion that sufficient co-operation can be expected in these quarters to make economically qualified Negro mobility possible.[6]

On the other hand, it has been asserted to us that while law requires non-discrimination in realty and lending phases of property transactions, the ideal is not always achieved. It was claimed that the lending institutions' policy of making housing loans on a non-discriminatory basis is of very recent origin -- so recent that policy in the matter has not always filtered down to employees who actually meet applicants for loans and arrange the details.[7] This raises the possibility that a continuing referral service similar to that which we undertook would be of value to Negroes who want to move from Albina when they do meet difficulties in making the necessary arrangements.

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[6] Tom Notos, Minutes of the meeting, July 23, 1964, Racial Residential Patterns Subcommittee, p. 21; Memorandum of Conference on Racial Residential Patterns Subcommittee Pilot Project, mimeo, January 28, 1964, pp. 1-3.

[7] Rev. T.X. Graham, Minutes of the meeting, July 23, 1964, Racial Residential Patterns Subcommittee, p. 22.

It appears to us unlikely that any major change will soon take place in the concentration of Negro residence in the Albina section. A reversal of the trend toward concentration will depend on many factors, including the availability of housing, employment, education and changing attitudes among both whites and Negroes.

PART IV

ENVIRONMENT ASSOCIATED WITH DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS

PART IV

ENVIRONMENT ASSOCIATED WITH DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS

We have seen that the neighborhood school policy causes children from one residential area to attend the same school. This causes a concentration of Negro children in certain schools because in Portland, as elsewhere, Negroes tend to live in one portion of the city. But factors other than race also cause residential groupings. Persons of like income, education, vocational levels and sometimes religion tend to live in the same neighborhoods. Thus, children in a given school often have similar environments.

It is necessary to examine this environment in order to understand educational problems found in certain Portland schools.

A child comes to school for the first time with his life patterns fairly well set during his first five or six years of life, a period over which the schools have had little influence. The school erects life qualifications upon this foundation. In addition, even during his school years, a child spends most of his time beyond the influence of the classroom. Thus the school's task is influenced for good or bad by environment.

This environment -- the home, the community and its attitude toward the child and his family, the peer group -- establishes the child's ability and willingness to learn, his relationship with the school, with teachers and with colleagues. Where the environment is adverse the child's school performance can be expected to suffer. Where there are significant numbers of such children in a school the average performance of the school drops.

There are large numbers of what we will call "disadvantaged" children in Portland's schools and many of these are Negro children. This does not mean that all Negro children are disadvantaged, either economically or culturally, but many are, and the physical environments of disadvantaged Negro children are typical of the problem of disadvantaged children generally.

Albina Described

In Part III, we noted the recent racial development of the Albina district and pointed out that 78% of Portland's Negroes in 1960 lived in that area.

What is Albina? It is not a political entity with set boundaries but is now thought of as the residential area in which a majority of the Negro population of Portland resides. Within that definition it is expanding.

To be more specific we describe Albina as the attendance areas of the elementary schools (K-8) in which there was a relatively high Negro enrollment in 1963-64. By this we do not necessarily mean a preponderant Negro enrollment, but rather an enrollment in which the proportion of Negroes far exceeds their percentage in the school system as a whole or an enrollment in which their numbers appear to be rapidly growing. For this purpose we have arbitrarily chosen the attendance areas of these schools: Highland, 79% Negro in 1963-64 (87% in 1964-65); Boise, 96% (in both years); Eliot, 96% (and 94%); Holladay, 56% (and 67%); Irvington, 42% (and 48%); and Sabin, 26% (and 33%). This area also contains one primary (K-4) school, Humboldt, 88% Negro in 1963-64 and 92% in 1964-65. These attendance districts do not coincide with census tracts but in general the sum of these schools' attendance areas fill these 11 census tracts: 22A, 22B, 23A, 23B, 24A, 24B, 32, 33A, 33B, 34A and 34B.

Facts about this area cannot be ascribed universally to the entire area nor to all its residents. But as we shall see, the average economic and educational level in the community is lower than that of the city as a whole.

Albina Compared to Portland

Negro Population: In 1960 the Negro population of the Albina school attendance districts which we have described amounted to 36.4% of the total (compared to 12.7% in 1950 and 3.9% in 1940), whereas the Negro proportion of the city's population as a whole was 4.2%. While the 1960 Negro proportion of the population in these attendance districts was less than half, and may still be less than half, the 1963 autumn school enrollment for the schools under discussion was 68.8% Negro compared to 6.3% for the entire school district, and in the autumn of 1964 was 71.8%

compared to 8% for the city elementary grades.[1] Exact racial enrollment figures are not available for prior years, but informed estimates are that the increase in Negro children in these schools has been as rapid or more rapid than the Negro population increase for the general Albina area.[2]

Age of Population: The proportion of very young people in Albina is greater than that of Portland as a whole, while the proportion of elderly is as high as the rest of the city; the middle income-earning age bracket contains fewer people. Those under five-years-old are 10.4% in Albina and 8.7% in Portland; those under 20 are 33.7% in Albina and 32.3% in Portland; those over 64 are 14.6% in Albina and 14.2% in Portland.[3] This is in line with national statistics which show the non-white population in 1963 considerably younger than the white population. Of non-whites, 44% were under 18-years-old compared to 35% of whites; 22% of the non-whites were 45-years-old or older and 30% of the whites. The non-white population is also growing more rapidly than the white; it increased 36% between 1950 and 1963 compared to a growth of 23% for the white population.[4]

Education: Almost 21% of the 1960 adult residents of Albina had not finished elementary school, compared to 12.1% of the general Portland population. Only 22.8% of the adult Albina population had completed high school (but not gone on to college) compared to 27.9% for Portland. College graduates were 5.9% of the Albina residents and 7.5% of Portland's residents. The median of school years completed in Albina was 10.2 compared to 12.0 for Portland.[5]

Housing: The numbers of vacant housing units in Albina are frequently noted. In 1960 this amounted to 8.8%

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[1] Research Memorandum, Miscellaneous, No. 1, op. cit., pp. 4-12, and Table 2.

[2] See Table 4.

[3] Research Memorandum, Miscellaneous, No. 1, loc. cit.

[4] The World Almanac 1964, ed. Harry Hansen (New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, 1964), p. 249.

[5] Research Memorandum, Miscellaneous, No. 1, loc. cit.

of the total housing units compared to 5.7% for the city. Only 77.7% of the available Albina housing was rated "sound" by census-takers compared to 85.6% for the city, while 4.6% were dilapidated in Albina and 1.9% in Portland as a whole.

Owner-occupied housing in Albina was 48.9% of the total, but 59.2% in the city. The median value of owner-occupied homes in Albina was $8,836 compared to $10,800 for the city as a whole. The median gross rent in Albina was identical to that of Portland: $71 a month. This is notable since the quality of Albina housing is significantly poorer on the average than the average in Portland. Of existing housing units, 2.4% were less than 10 years old in Albina (14.4% Portland) while 91.18% were more than 20 years old (72.4% Portland).[6]

Marriage Factors: Widowed persons in Albina represented 15.1% of the population who had ever been married, compared to 13.1% for Portland; while 9.6% of the same sample in Albina were divorced compared to 7.3% for the city.[7]

Income: Family income showed 26.1% of the Albina families earning less than $3,000 a year (15.1% Portland) while 8.2% made more than $10,000 a year (16.9% Portland). The median family income in Albina was $5,099, and in Portland, $6,333.[8]

Employment: The proportion of Albina's population in the labor force, and the proportion of this labor force who were women, wives and mothers, was almost identical to that of Portland, but Albina's unemployed were 7.24% of the adult labor force compared to 5.28% for Portland.[9]

Albina Negro Compared to Portland

The above statistics were for all residents, both white and Negro, and in 1960 the area under consideration contained more whites than Negroes, and the white portion of the Irvington attendance area, especially, tended to raise Albina averages. What of the Negro in the area?

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

There are no precise figures, but the 1960 U.S. Census enumerated characteristics of non-whites living in census tracts containing 400 or more non-whites. The number of Orientals, American Indians and other non-Negro, non-whites living in Portland where 400 must be present in a given census tract before they are counted, is insignificant. Therefore, the figures we deal with next are primarily Negro, and are for the Negroes concentrated in one area -- not the Negroes who live in the general community.

Education: Of the adults in this sample, 4.8% had never gone to school, 29.2% had not finished elementary school (21% Albina, 12.1% Portland), but 6% were college graduates compared to 5.9% for Albina as a whole and 6.9% for Portland as a whole.[10]

Mobility: Although 41.6% of the adults in the sample had lived in the same house five years before, another 40.4% had lived elsewhere in Portland (including Albina) five years before, and a full 12.7% had migrated into the city from elsewhere in the previous five years.[11]

Income: Family income showed 5.6% earning less than $1,000 a year, while 27.9% earned less than $3,000 (26.1% Albina, 15.1% Portland). Earning more than $10,000 a year were 5.4% of the sample (8.2% Albina, 16.9% Portland). Median family income was $4,518, compared to $5,099 for Albina as a whole and $6,333 for Portland as a whole.[12]

Employment: A total of 12.95% of the adult labor force in the sample was unemployed, compared to 7.24% for Albina and 5.28% for Portland. Of women in the labor force, 23.8% were married and living with their husbands, and 7% had children under age 6. Of male adults working, 27.7% were in service jobs and 16.1% were laborers, while only 2% had sales positions. Of adult women in the labor force, 33.7% were service workers outside private households, 17% were private household workers, 14% were clerical workers and 1.9% were in sales.[13]

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

Housing: The percentage of home ownership in a sample which contained all non-white heads-of-household in census tracts having 100 or more such households was almost identical to that of Albina as a whole: 48.8%, compared to 59.2% for Portland as a whole. The median value of such owner-occupied homes was $8,600 compared to $8,836 for Albina and $10,800 for Portland. Median gross rent for rented units was $64, compared to $71 for both Albina and all of Portland. Only 66.1% of such housing was "sound" (77.7% Albina, 85.6% Portland) while 8% were "dilapidated" (4.6% Albina, 1.9% Portland).[14]

Family and Community Characteristics

Community Safety: From the standpoint of safety, Albina residence is less desirable than other portions of the city. Although Bureau of Police statistics are inadequate, they show that in 1962 the census tracts which comprise the school attendance zones we have defined as "Albina" contained 9% of the population and recorded 12% of reported crimes; that of reported crimes in Albina, 53% were "major" as compared to 44% for the city as a whole; that while arrests were made in connection with 53% of Portland's reported crimes, only 37% of Albina crimes led to arrest; and that while 4% of Portland's 1960 population was Negro, 13% of those charged with a crime in 1962 were Negro.[15] A Metropolitan Youth Commission study of 1960 delinquency showed that the "delinquency rate" in the 11 Albina census tracts ranged from 2% to 7% and averaged 5% compared to a county delinquency rate of 3%.[16] The Portland Bureau of Health reports that all restaurants and taverns in the Central Albina area are "below average" in sanitation and that there is inadequate garbage disposal at 60% of the area's dwellings, leading to such health problems as rodent infestation.[17]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Research Memorandum, "Crime in Albina Area and Crime by Race" (Subcommittee on Community and Home Environment, October 23, 1963), pp. 1-5.

[16] Kenneth Polk, The Metropolitan Youth Commission Delinquency Study -- Preliminary Report (Portland: Metropolitan Youth Commission, n.d.), pp. 5-10.

[17] Research Memorandum, "Sanitary Survey, Census Tracts 22A, 23A, 34A, 34B" (Subcommittee on Community and Home Environment, November 21, 1963), p. 8.

We have heard from more than one woman of reluctance to leave home at night to attend school or other functions, and have been told first-hand by women of such experiences as being followed by men in automobiles while walking along public streets in broad daylight.

Negative Attitudes: The Albina community image is unattractive for some who live in it and for those who observe it from the outside. Unfortunately, the attitude of some school personnel toward the community and its inhabitants reflects this image. A double standard of behavior and expectation is applied. Some teachers and school administrators believe Albina Negro children will not or cannot learn, and are satisfied with substandard performance. Some Albina parents are of the same persuasion, and more often adopt the idea that whether the children are educable or not is of little importance in view of their probable future opportunities. Application of a double standard extends to other community agencies -- health and sanitation problems, welfare incidence, delinquency, etc., are shrugged off with the comment, "What else can you expect of these people?". Until quite recent years, we are persuaded, this attitude was particularly bad among those in charge of policing and prosecuting: dope usage and even homicide were not punished because "Everyone knows Negroes use dope", or "Everyone knows Negroes are violent". All this results in a great deal of adverse publicity for the area; this negative image translates into poor motivation for the children.

The Problem of Color: Any urban area which has a high incidence of low income, low parential education, substandard housing, concentrations of light industry, and other Albina characteristics which we have described, will present problems to middle class-oriented schools. A high proportion of children from any depressed area appear to have low motivation and ability when measured by standard school devices. In Albina this effect is compounded by the problem of color. By the time Albina Negro children are in the fifth grade, if not before, they realize that portions of our society attach a stigma to black skins. This aggravates their economic problems; the element of isolation is added as an emotional problem.

The Home and Family: We have interviewed experienced observers of Albina problems, both within and without the school system. The observations of these people, together with our own observations, reinforce impressions that Albina home environment is often not conducive to good study habits or educational achievement.

The following statements do not by any means apply to all Albina homes and families; they must not be regarded either within or without Albina as a blanket observation. But there are frequently recurring cases of:[18]

> 1) Homes with unmarried parents, with but one parent present (usually the mother), where there are periodic changes of the "father", where adults are openly promiscuous before children.
>
> 2) Homes where the mother works, or if both parents are present, where both work. Often the mother works a split shift and is gone from the home from before breakfast until late in the evening; frequently in such cases the children have the freedom of the street from a tender age.
>
> 3) Homes where adults habitually use coarse and profane language within the family group. This determines the child's vocabulary and often has a detrimental influence on rapport between the child and teachers of middle-class backgrounds.
>
> 4) Homes where parental motivation is low or absent. In these homes, parents' own lack of successful school experience causes them to see no need for school experience by their children; at times such parents resent the idea of the next generation "putting on airs" by gaining an education. Also, parents who are not overtly hostile to school may transfer low motivation to their children as a result of their own social and economic frustrations in a discriminatory society; here the value of education is downgraded, since in their eyes no amount of education appears to improve a child's future prospects. Consequently, some children receive no encouragement, and in fact may be discouraged, by parents.

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[18] Witnesses generally before the Subcommittee on Community and Home Environment, as reported in that subcommittee's meeting Minutes.

5) Homes bereft of creature-comforts. Homes are ill-heated, poorly furnished and generally uncomfortable. Such houses may have two or more families residing in them, with resultant crowding, noise, distraction and absence of privacy. There is a high incidence of broken windows never replaced, creating discomfort and a general attitude of disrespect for surroundings and property.

6) Homes where heavy alcoholic consumption and other excesses are apparent.

7) Homes where nourishment is inadequate. Children frequently arrive at school without breakfast. Milk is often entirely absent from meals. There are many cases of undernourished children and occasional cases of malnutrition which are reflected in low energy levels and short concentration spans. This most often stems from low income but in many cases it is caused by parental irresponsibility or ignorance.

8) Homes where the supply of clothing is inadequate. There are many cases of two children in one family sharing one pair of shoes, or insufficient cold and wet weather gear, and insufficient underwear for all the children in the family, or of no underwear at all. This last is frequently cited as causing self-consciousness on the part of children when they are required to change clothes in locker rooms prior to gym classes.

9) Homes in which medical and dental care are inadequate or absent.

It is impossible to generalize about the "sense of family" among Albina residents. Many Albina Negro families are exceptionally warm and close-knit. Others have no sense of "family" or of belonging to a unit, in extreme cases a child may have no idea who his parents are. The subordination of the male image in such cases is emphasized by virtually all persons familiar with Albina.

Both our demographic material and witnesses reinforce assertions that the school is often the only "happy" place in the day for some children. It is the one comfortable, safe, relatively uncrowded, relatively friendly place they find, so long as their experience in it is not marred by a perpetual sense of failure. They find their school more colorful and lighter, more filled with friends, warmer and more comfortable, more filled with activity and variety, and less tense and lonely than home. School people observe that it is sometimes difficult to get children out of Albina schools at the end of the day, and it is usual to find many children waiting at the door, anxious to come in, before school opens in the morning.

Urban Renewal

The worst physical conditions in Albina are concentrated in the southern section of it and these conditions tend to spread.

The worst portion of this area is under consideration by the Portland Development Commission for an urban renewal project. The project would involve clearance of existing structures and redevelopment along two lines: 1) a major expansion of Emanuel Hospital, and 2) development of an area for light industry and commercial uses.[19] In addition to the proposed urban renewal program for the worst sections, the Development Commission has been aiding an intensive effort by residents to upgrade 35 double size blocks (about 100 acres) of private housing to keep it from becoming a slum. This involves a marginal but rehabilitatable section north of Boise School.[20]

The prospect of urban renewal raises other possibilities for usage of cleared portions, including that of additional low-cost public housing to meet the need of low income families,.bettering the environmental background of many disadvantaged children presently in the public schools, and thus hopefully bettering their school achievement. Suggestions that the Housing Authority of Portland build additional housing in Albina have heretofore generated opposition; it has been contended that this would perpetuate segregation. It is our belief, however, that if the urban renewal area were completely developed to create a desirable area in which to live, and if public housing there were so managed as to allow freedom of choice, it would be acceptable.

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[19] Minutes of the meeting, October 28, 1963, Subcommittee on Racial Residential Patterns, p. 6.

[20] Minutes of the meeting, September 27, 1963, Subcommittee on Racial Residential Patterns, p. 1.

The problem of preventing deterioration still remains despite the possible benefits of renewal. As has been seen here and elsewhere,[21] this can be severe in areas where low income newcomers pour into a metropolis. The responsibility for avoiding this is broad-based, but one crucial responsibility is the city's through its power to enforce zoning, housing, building and other codes and its duty to provide regular municipal housekeeping services such as street sweeping, rodent control, etc., in order to prevent deterioration of an area under population pressure.

Conclusion

Environmental conditions such as we have described -- those of crudity, violence, hostility, low value on education, and negative community reactions where color is involved -- contribute substantial numbers of children who are ill-prepared for education in Portland's public schools. These children we shall call "disadvantaged"; their disadvantage may be primarily economic or cultural or a combination. All socio-economically disadvantaged children are not culturally disadvantaged, nor are all Negro children -- but substantial numbers of each are and they present educational problems for the school system. This is especially true, as we shall see in Part VII of this Report, when large numbers of such cases appear in the same school.

We do not imply these conditions must inevitably result in low educational motivation and achievement. Some of the best students and most useful citizens have come from deprived and disadvantaged homes; some of our wealthiest homes have produced poor students and citizens. Comfortable homes and families can, in fact, stimulate complacency and mediocrity. In a dominant group, however, complacency and mediocrity do not inevitably lead to life failure. It has been truthfully remarked that economic and social hardship, when accompanied by reverence for education within a close-knit family group, often stimulates success instead of failure. The basic Albina problem is that respect for education and close-knit families is not the prevalent condition.

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[21] Ibid., p. 2. Of 500 units in one 35 square "double block" area of Albina, 200 code violations and 40 units in need of demolishing were found.

Yet we must not place our accent mark behind a statement that Albina economic posture and family outlook must improve before we make educational progress. To assume that ghetto schools are per se bad and that there is nothing we can do to improve them, or to motivate the child and teach him, until his home is upgraded is to assume that education must surrender in the face of economic adversity. Schools must take these children substantially as they are. There is little schools can do to improve the child's immediate home and environment situation. Educators cannot change the facts of the child's home environment; they must offset the environmental facts by opening doors through which the child can escape.

Albina schools represent the greatest challenge and opportunity in Portland for teachers and pupils. It is here that the greatest need exists to break out of old patterns. It is true that a teacher meets challenge with children from homes where comfort and complacency lead to school mediocrity, but not nearly so great as the challenge of children whose lack of achievement will not be tolerated by society when their school days are finished.

PART V

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

PART V

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Although the schools cannot in large measure affect the environmental conditions which we have observed, the community in general can, and in so doing it can beneficially affect the educational process. The community has a responsibility to do this. This emphastically implies a responsibility to the community's private and government agencies.

Directly linked to the problem of educational achievement in culturally deprived neighborhoods of low economic status is the issue of motivation. Neither achievement nor the desire for achievement can be spoon-fed, nor can accepted goals, including a wholesome family life, steady employment with financial security and social acceptance. They will be achieved partly through education, but only after the community as a whole recognizes that public education is not limited to academic subjects alone but encompasses a broader preparation for participation in the mainstream of our society.

Thus, the only honest answer is to recognize that the desire to achieve must exist or be awakened. It becomes the obligation of society to simultaneously provide the stimulus and the opportunities.

Private Agency Contribution to Better Environment

One phase of this "broader preparation" involves the role of privately supported agencies in providing services to youth in disadvantaged areas, specifically the contributions they are making or could make to improve environmental backgrounds and stimulate aspirations as well as the ability to learn.

In this the schools must not disclaim a measure of responsibility. The concept that the schools' only role is education and that the non-educational services of private agencies are not of interest to them is outmoded. It is a gap that must be bridged.

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We cannot provide controlled data to measure the effectiveness of privately supported agency services on educational achievement. There is adequate evidence, however, that the more rounded the experience of a child or a youth, and the busier he is with worthwhile endeavors, the greater will be his interest in preparing for life achievement through school experience. Child and youth involvement in selected privately supported agency activities can broaden experience and sharpen the desire to achieve.

In making an assessment of services to youth in disadvantaged areas, we have interviewed officers, lay volunteers and professional staff members of many privately supported agencies which either provide or could provide services to disadvantaged neighborhood children. While emphasis was placed on examining services in the Albina area and to Negro youth, comparative appraisals were sought of private agency programs in other areas.

The degree of need is apparent in our factual description of environment in the preceding part of this Report. The extent to which private agencies can contribute is apparent from the long list of private agencies, most of them affiliated with United Good Neighbors for partial or near-total financing, which exist in this community, ranging from nursery schools for the children of working parents to the sponsors of club activities both inside and outside the schools. What is actually being done varies a great deal from agency to agency.

We do not propose here to exhaustively analyze the contribution of each agency, but we will make some general observations.[1]

There are several culturally deprived areas in Portland where the needs of disadvantaged youth are acute. Of these, Albina should be given the highest priority because racial imbalance magnifies the problem there. The need is urgent in the Albina area for accelerated effort in such fields as nursery and preschool day care, youth character building, and family involvement.

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[1] A thorough review of agency activities and attitudes is contained in the Minutes of our Subcommittee on the Relation of Private Youth Serving Agencies to Educational Achievement.

The programs of privately supported agencies in various fields of service recognize neither color nor creed, yet with a few notable exceptions little concentrated effort is being made in seriously disadvantaged neighborhoods because the tendency is to serve those most easily reached and disadvantaged children in disadvantaged neighborhoods are not easily reached.

Comprehensive interagency planning is lacking or else it has not been effectively used as a guideline for the assessment of neighborhood needs within fields of service. There seems to be little correlation between some UGN fund allocations and agency efforts in culturally deprived neighborhoods such as Albina, particularly with respect to programs for disadvantaged youth.

To be effective, an attack on Albina problems by privately supported agencies must incorporate the suggestions and recommendations of Albina's leaders; the attack will be ineffective if it is viewed as something whites are doing for Negroes instead of with Negroes. It must also include greater co-ordination of programs and program content, supported by valid research on area needs and statistical evaluations of results.

The more effective agencies appear to utilize the concept of preserving individual self-respect by providing a fee schedule predicated on the ability to pay, and these fees, moderate as they are, carry a worthwhile portion of the agencies' budgets.

Government Agency Contribution to Better Environment

The effect of government agencies on environment is more extensive and direct than that of privately supported agencies. The conclusion is inescapable that many government agencies touch the lives of many children in disadvantaged areas, including Albina. With well-mounted programs these agencies could in some measure compensate for economic and cultural deprivation faced by these children; poor agency performance on the other hand reinforces economic and cultural deprivation.

Certainly without help the best designed school program cannot adequately reach the youngster who comes to school hungry, who is ill-clothed, who comes from a home with distressing physical and moral characteristics, for whom violence is a common experience, who is at times entangled with legal authorities in situations he cannot understand, and who sees all around him the evidence of a closed society.

In Appendix D of this Report we provide detailed descriptions of government agencies' success in meeting their obligations in this regard. At this point we list some general findings and examples.

1) Many non-school government agencies have responsibilities for social problems detrimental to educational achievement in culturally disadvantaged areas.

The adequacy of that service has a direct bearing on the ability of residents to function. Functioning is difficult in an area in which government's police, housekeeping and social services are substandard. Most socio-economic disadvantaged sections of the School District are areas in which resident functioning is relatively difficult, and also in which government agency functioning is relatively difficult. It appears that the most difficult of these is Albina because the disadvantages of Negro concentration have been added to the socio-economic difficulties under which its residents function.

Children, being less able to defend themselves from an adverse environment, are more prone to be hurt by it. Their difficulties bear directly on their ability to acquire, through education, tools with which to break out of a closed environment. Adequate government services could help to compensate for these difficulties.

Government agencies with responsibilities in this area include among others welfare, the Juvenile Court and Department, the Housing Authority of Portland, the Planning Commission, the Park Bureau and Recreation Department, the Bureau of Health, and of course such city agencies as police and fire departments.

2) Government agencies with these responsibilities are understaffed in relation to the total problems with which they must deal.

This leads not only to inadequate agency performance but to fraud in cases where supervision is inadequate, particularly in welfare. Personnel in many agencies feel frustrated in their efforts to attack monumental problems because of resource shortages.

Welfare workers are carrying case loads of such size that in some instances they can contact welfare recipients only infrequently and can spend little time with the recipient even in occasional contacts. There is reason to criticize in that the most skillful case workers should be assigned to the area of worst conditions, and they should be given case loads of such size as will permit them to make progress with their cases. It cannot be overemphasized that the Welfare Department has perhaps the largest single role of any government agency in assisting with improvement of the Negro's lot, and that its practices to accomplish this end can be vastly improved. Present practices not only lead to opportunities for recipients to "cheat", but often guarantee in highly damaged cases that rehabilitation will be unlikely. Indeed, cursory contacts and automatic increases in grants with each increase in family only compounds the family's problems. The most highly damaged cases are found in Albina.[2]

Juvenile Department counselors usually carry case loads of 50 to 55, ordinarily distributed within subdivisions of areas of the county. Counselors must spend an estimated 80% of their time with cases in which rehabilitation chances are slim. Practically no work can be done with youngsters identified by school personnel as potential serious delinquents early in their school careers; indeed, very often if not in most cases they are not called to the attention of the Juvenile Court until their patterns of behavior become relatively fixed. Time demands on both agencies make successful school-Juvenile Department co-operation difficult at times.[3]

The city recreation program although it appears adequately staffed, obviously is failing to do the job it should with its resources with the least privileged children, particularly Negro children. In addition, the Recreation Department leadership seems unable to work in harmony with school officials.[4]

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[2] Minutes of the meeting, October 21, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

[3] Minutes of the meeting, November 4, 1963, ibid.

The most serious staff shortage problem may be that of the health services. Whereas there is a need for a fulltime nurse in some predominantly Negro elementary schools, and probably in most high schools, some 35 nurses are expected to serve 78 in-city public elementary schools (1963-64), 11 in-city public high schools, and all the city's parochial schools, and spend only 40% of their time in doing it.[5]

3) While many government agencies touch children, there is little case co-ordination between agencies, and co-ordination between agencies and the schools is sporadic.

Even with inadequate resources, more progress could be made with adequate case co-ordination. The Metropolitan Youth Commission is charged with co-ordinating the roles played by youth-serving agencies but there is no case-to-case co-ordination. There have been instances brought to our attention wherein a single child is being counseled by welfare case workers, juvenile court counselors, school counselors, and with whose family public health nurses are working --.with none of the agencies aware the others are in the field.

The schools, which have more complete records, resources and time-with-children than other government agencies, could be a rich store of assistance to other government agencies. The Juvenile Department could profit by the information at the disposal of the Welfare Department, and vice-versa, and so on through the list of agencies.

4) Government agencies are barred by law from practicing racial discrimination in program or employment; so far as can be determined by direct evidence, none do.

Federal law bars racial discrimination in employment and program in many areas, particularly discrimination by government agencies. Oregon law is generally more stringent in the same direction.[6]

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[4] Minutes of the meeting, January 20, 1964, ibid.

[5] Minutes of the meeting, March 9, 1964, ibid.

[6] Legal Advisory Committee, Report No. 1 to the Committee on Race and Education, A Report Prepared at the request of Judge Herbert M. Schwab (Portland: Legal Advisory Committee, 1964).

But there is a difference between non-discrimination and integration. The former is negative and passive -- one does not undertake to exclude. The latter implies positive actions designed to bring about assimilation.

The precise questions at issue are:

A) Is a government agency legally obliged to more than non-discrimination?

B) If it is obliged to more than non-discrimination, to what extent is it obliged to positive actions designed to bring about assimilation, to promote or further racial integration?

It is difficult to demonstrate a legal obligation on the part of government agencies to do more than be non-discriminatory. It seems apparent that there is no specific statutory obligation on the part of an agency to promote integration. However, there may well be an implication of integration as a public policy in that part of the statutes calling for a public education program to overcome discrimination (1963 Oregon Laws Ch. 622, Sec. 2). There would seem to be further implication of "integration" as a public policy in the recent actions of the executive and legislative branches of the federal government.

Assuming, therefore, that there is such an implication, the further question remains regarding the extent to which government agencies are obliged to take positive actions designed to promote or further integration. This is a matter upon which honest men differ.

A) It is argued that for its own peace society must adjust itself to a black and white state, that the races will either live equally together or be at each other's throats. It is an obligation of government agencies to promote integrated activities and programs, if necessary by mild compulsion, both to reach out toward a more ideal and ultimately peaceful society and also to assist minority groups obtain equal opportunity. Further, recipients of government benefits, whether it be safe traffic or low cost housing, have an obligation to give up some freedom of choice in return, such as the freedom to travel at 100 miles an hour or to discriminate as to who their neighbors will be in a government housing project.

B) To the contrary, it is argued that government, with the exception of narrow areas, is barred from social engineering. It has no right to rob one group of its freedom of choice in order to provide another group with a route to its aspirations, nor does it have a right to force an entire group to take actions which may not be the desire of some members of that group, even if the actions will benefit the group.

Both of these arguments however assume that "positive actions designed to promote or further racial integration" necessarily involve some kind of compulsion or social engineering. It appears to us that this is a gratuitous assumption, since it is possible for such agencies to take positive steps to assure all citizens that the opportunities and services they offer are truly available to all citizens regardless of their race, without resorting to any kind of compulsion, even mild. For example, a federal or state agency could take steps to make certain that information regarding available jobs in the agency was clearly communicated to the Negro citizens; state officials could publicly affirm through billboards placed near the state lines that public accommodations in the state were by law open to all without discrimination.

In other words, governmental agencies, just as all other segments of our society, must be aware of current social problems, must admit their existence and recognize what influence they can have in contributing to their solution. In the final analysis it is perhaps more a matter of attitude than anything else. Normal prudence demanded of all administrators would indicate the impossibility of justifying a wholly aloof or purely negative attitude on the part of social agencies toward critical social problems. Prudence and common sense then, not legal requirements would indicate the course of action.

Whether the agencies are bound in any way to more than this, remains in our judgment an open question.[7]

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[7] Research Memorandum, "Do Oregon Statutes Require Non-Discrimination or a Positive Effort by Government Agencies to Promote Integration?", (Subcommittee on Government Agencies, March 11, 1964).

PART VI

INTELLECTUAL
CAPACITY
AND
ACHIEVEMENT

PART VI

INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND ACHIEVEMENT

We now turn from our examinations of the home and community environment which influences children in their school work to begin our examination of the situation which prevails in certain Portland schools, with particular regard to children which we have termed "disadvantaged". A first consideration here is the question of intellectual capacity and the achievement which a child demonstrates in the school situation.

Children, irrespective of race, have widely differing intellectual capacity and achievement. This fact is shown by standard tests routinely used by Portland schools and throughout the United States.

Such tests -- intellectual capacity or I.Q. tests -- have been seriously questioned in recent years as to their accuracy in indicating inherent capacity, particularly the capacity of children who come from an environment which is socially or economically depressed. It is widely recognized that children from a depressed social environment, speaking a dialect, cannot be expected to score well on an I.Q. test constructed on standard English and based upon experiences common to middle class life.[1]

Riessman suggests that most culturally disadvantaged children come from low socio-economic backgrounds and are

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[1] David Tyack, Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 31; Henry C. Dyer, "What Intelligence Tests Don't Test," Princeton Alumni Weekly (Princeton: Princeton University, March 17, 1964), p. 16; Martin P. Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Columbia University, 1963), Part II.

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slow learners, slow in performing intellectual tasks.[2] A Portland principal reports that he has "smart children" capable of "figuring things out" with low I.Q. scores.[3] Both principals and teachers in Portland and elsewhere feel that the culturally disadvantaged child, however he be described, is likely to have test scores which are a good deal lower than his innate capacity in contradistinction to the culturally more advantaged child who tends to test out at a level much closer to his capacity.[4]

Yet, experience indicates that performance in our school system can generally be predicted from the results of these tests, and academic achievement test scores tend to conform to I.Q. test scores,[5] as do grade point averages.

Informed persons point out that while individual scores on group tests are quite unreliable, mean scores can be considered reasonably accurate.[6]

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[2] Frank Riessman, "The Culturally Deprived Child: A New View," Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 3-10.

[3] Lloyd Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 38. See also Stuart S. Phillips, The Problem of the Low Achiever (Oakland: Oakland Public Schools, 1962), p. 1.

[4] Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, *op. cit.*; Minutes of the meeting, January 6, 1964, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations. These observations have all been extensively confirmed in interviews conducted by the Traveling Subcommittee.

[5] Victor Doherty, Minutes of the meeting, October 21, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 8-10.

[6] Definition of terms used herein in connection with performance and aptitude:

Intelligence (I.Q.) Tests: A synonym for mental test. A test of general intelligence is made up of parts that correlate well with some practical measure of ability, such as school success. The Weschsler Intelligence Scale for Children is an example of an individual intelligence test and is used by the Portland Public Schools. The California Test of Mental Maturity is an example of a group

Altering Measured Test Achievement

A given child's intellectual capacity and achievement often tend to remain in the same relative position as he grows

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intelligence test and has been used by the Portland schools.

The individual intelligence test presents a variety of problems which demand the ability to utilize ideas and symbols, for example, words, numbers, diagrams, pictures, geometrical figures. When used with young children, general intelligence tests are primarily measures of mental alertness on the abstract level. For adults, these tests are measures of the aptitude for such occupational and other tasks as draw upon abilities operative in school work.

Group tests of intelligence contain tasks like those found in the individual intelligence scales, but in the individual tests questions are stated orally and are answered orally; and the problems are presented one at a time without time limit, or at least a generous limit is allowed, while in group intelligence tests questions are printed in a booklet, time limits are fixed, and answers are limited to the options provided. The group test is more dependent on reading, is less flexible in response, and is often disturbing to children flustered by a time limit.

In Portland the School and College Ability Test (SCAT) is used in Grade 7 as a measure of school ability. In Grade 4 the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test has been used; it yields both a measure of school ability and an intelligence quotient (I.Q.). In 1964-65 the School and College Ability Test will be used in Grade 4 as well as in Grade 7. The school ability measure differs from the intelligence quotient measure in two ways: 1) the school ability test is a measure of performance and the score it yields is not modified by an age factor; the intelligence quotient, on the other hand, is arrived at by dividing the performance level by the chronological age of the student; thus it can be seen that for two students with the same performance on the test, the student who is younger will score higher than the student who is older; 2) a school ability measure normally contains tasks very closely related to tasks performed in school; thus it may have items which call on skills of reading and mathematical thinking which have been taught in school; intelligence tests, on the other hand, contain tasks which are only indirectly related to school tasks such as the ability to solve and develops during the grade and high school years.[7] However, substantial evidence suggests that scores on such tests may be altered by intensive efforts directed at both individuals and groups of children from depressed environments as well as their parents. Perhaps

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spatial relations, complete number series, manipulate objects, etc.

Since school ability measures correlate higher with school performance than do intelligence measures, they are a more effective means of deciding how students should be grouped in a classroom or how teachers should approach instruction with given classes. Measures of performance on these tests, unmodified by the age factor, are better indicators of what students have accomplished and are thus able to do at a given point in instruction than are the intelligence measures. For this reason, the Portland testing program is moving away from intelligence testing and in the direction of school ability testing.

Achievement Test: A test designed to measure a person's knowledge, skill, understanding, etc., in a given field taught in school; for example, a mathematics test or an English test. (In practice, an achievement test may include measures of several types of subject matter and may yield separate scores for each subject; such a test is usually called an achievement battery.) The Iowa Test of Educational Development used by the Portland school system is an example.

Mean: The mean is a method used to compute a typical measure or average. It is popularly called the average. The arithmetic mean is obtained from the sum of the scores divided by their number.

Median: The median is also a method of computing an average. It is the point on the scale of measurement above which are exactly half of the cases and below which are the other half. It is obtained by counting off one-half of the scores from either end of the series.

[7] Frank E. Brown, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 37.

the best documented experience is that of the Banneker District of the St. Louis school system.[8] Mean grade level placement in the Banneker District has been raised for eighth graders significantly.

Table 5

Grade Level Placement
St. Louis Banneker District Eighth Graders

	1958 Mean	1960 Mean
Reading	7.7	8.8
Language	7.6	9.1
Arithmetic	7.9	8.7

Such dramatic upward shifts appear in all 23 elementary schools in the Banneker District -- almost wholly Negro schools.

In five years in the Banneker District the mean I.Q. was raised from 82 to 93. On the other hand, it is important to note that in some poor schools elsewhere the I.Q. scores of disadvantaged children have actually declined. Thus, scores are not stable and whether they rise or fall can be influenced by the child's school experience, or more particularly, by the degree of school effort to find personnel and techniques to motivate him.[9]

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[8] Samuel Shepard, Jr., "A Program to Raise the Standard of School Achievement," Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 86. See also, Report of the Traveling Subcommittee (Portland: Committee on Race and Education, 1964), pp. 50-53.

[9] James Bryant Conant, Slums and Suburbs (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 13-14. ". . . I think one must admit that, as originally developed and used by many educators in the 1920's and 1930's, intelligence tests were thought of as measuring the inherent or genetic qualities of the individual. The evidence at first available seemed to indicate that the chances of a single individual's

Causes and Results of Capacity Differences

We attribute differences in intellectual capacity and achievement in the individual child to two general causes: first, genetic differences which are fixed at the time of conception; and second, differences in the environment in which the child develops and the child's individual response to that environment.

Insofar as we can tell, no reputable scientist has established that there are or are not inherent racial differences in the capacity to learn. Furthermore, it would be extremely difficult to do so because of the environmental factors which affect the learning ability of the child.[10]

A given child whose intellectual capacity is substantially below the mean for the school system, or whose achievement irrespective of capacity is substantially below that mean, often becomes a problem child from the educational point of view for that school system. This is because such children cannot be satisfactorily educated through the normal curriculum and under the learning conditions provided generally for all schools.[11] The problem is magnified

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I.Q. changing over the years were slight. Today, however, when we tend to think of paper-and-pencil intelligence tests, at least in the higher grades, as measuring a type of scholastic aptitude, we are well aware that we are measuring an aptitude which in part has been developed in the school. The difference between an I.Q. test and a good achievement test is one of degree, not kind. Understood in this sense and with evidence accumulating that an individual's aptitude score may change during his school years, there is nothing deterministic about the use of the various forms of intelligence or aptitude tests which are on the market. If they are understood only as giving a prediction of probability of academic success in subsequent schoolwork, they are no more and no less influenced by home or other environmental factors than are the marks of schoolwork given by a conscientious teacher."

[10] Phillips, The Problem of the Low Achiever, op. cit.

[11] Frank E. Brown, Leslie W. Lee, Lloyd Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 36-44; Paul R. Lundy, Leland Harriman, Jane Clark, Minutes of the meeting, December 30, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 51-56; Berkeley Unified School District, De Facto Segregation in the Berkeley Public Schools (Berkeley: Berkeley Unified School District, 1963).

when children of depressed achievement caused by cultural depression appear in large numbers in any school, as they can be expected to do in a socio-economically depressed neighborhood.

Whether measured by I.Q. tests or by achievement tests, some grade schools in the Portland system score means substantially higher than the mean for all schools, and some others score substantially lower than the system mean. At the extremes this indicates that in our lowest scoring schools only a handful of the highest scoring children are comparable in I.Q. scores and achievement scores with the lowest scoring children in the highest scoring schools. A completely different distribution of individual scores occurs in high and low scoring schools.

Chart 2 illustrates this;[12] the high curve shows the curve of normal distribution for seventh grade achievement test composite scores in Portland, with the city-wide mean or average (50 on the Portland scale) indicated by the middle vertical line; the mean of individual scores in a high scoring Portland grade school (55) is shown by the vertical line to the right, and the mean of individual scores in the lowest scoring school (38.5) is shown by the vertical line to the left; the lower curves show the actual curves of distribution in these two schools. It follows that most children in the low scoring schools are not competitive with children of the same age and assigned to the same grade level in the high scoring schools.

The distribution of intellectual capacity and achievement among children in any given school determines to a large extent the effectiveness of the academic teaching program and curriculum in that school.[13] Where the distribution of capacity and achievement is remarkably below the mean for the system, there are serious cumulative educational problems which are not present in those schools which are

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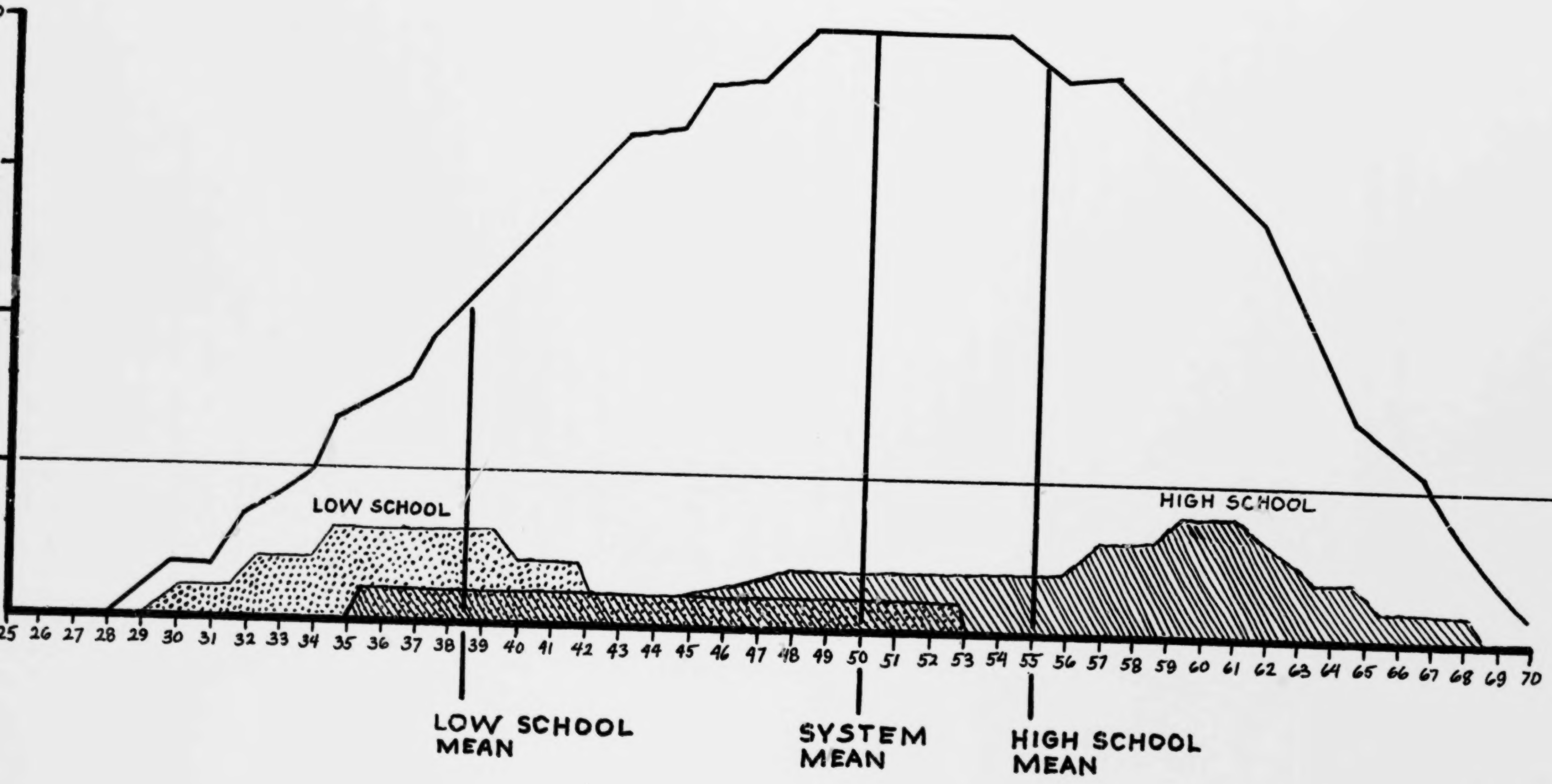
[12] Data prepared by the Research Department of School District No. 1 at the request of the Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations. It is derived from seventh grade Iowa (achievement) tests administered during the 1962-63 school year.

[13] Norman K. Hamilton, Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 33.

CHART 2

1962 - 63
ELEMENTARY ACHIEVEMENT COMPOSITE
GRADE 7 "P" SCORES



closer to the mean or above it.[14] These remarkably low-achieving schools we will tem "disadvantaged schools".[15]

In order to illustrate the ranges of mean school performance between schools in the system we will examine performance in the seventh grades on aptitude and achievement tests administered during the 1962-63 school year. We shall not identify the schools by name since we want only to illustrate the range in results between disadvantaged schools and schools achieving at a high level.

Table 6
Measures of Academic Aptitude
Ten Highest and Lowest Ranking Schools, Portland
Grade 7 SCAT, 1962-63, Mean Scores

School	% Negro 1963-64	School Mean[a]	No. Standard Deviations +/-[b]
School A	1-	56.82	+1.72
School B	0	56.05	+1.52
School C	0	55.62	+1.42
School D	0	55.57	+1.40
School E	1-	54.59	+1.16
School F	0	54.31	+1.09
School G	0	54.07	+1.03
School H	1-	53.72	+ .95
School I	1-	53.69	+ .94
School J	0	53.45	+ .88
School QQ	3	45.89	-1.00
School RR	41	45.83	-1.01
School SS	3	45.75	-1.06
School TT	1-	45.62	-1.06
School UU	0	44.57	-1.33
School VV	1-	44.25	-1.40
School WW	55	42.93	-1.73
School XX	79	39.63	-2.55
School YY	96	38.19	-2.91
School ZZ	96	37.49	-3.08

a. City mean of school means = 49.91.

b. One standard deviation of mean of school means = 4.03.

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[14] George V. Guy, Minutes of the meeting, ibid., p. 30.

[15] The term "disadvantaged" is used as a less invidious term

Table 7

Measures of Academic Achievement
Ten Highest and Lowest Ranking Schools, Portland
Grade 7 Achievement Composite Tests, 1962-63 Mean Scores

School	% Negro 1963-64	School Mean[a]	No. Standard Deviations +/-[b]
School F	0	55.43	+1.72
School A	1-	55.29	+1.67
School K	1-	55.25	+1.66
School B	0	55.08	+1.61
School E	1-	54.91	+1.56
School C	0	54.87	+1.55
School D	0	54.85	+1.55
School U	2	53.13	+1.04
School G	0	53.03	+1.01
School H	1-	53.00	+1.00
School TT	1-	46.49	- .93
School OO	1-	46.44	- .94
School PP	0	45.76	-1.15
School WW	55	45.45	-1.24
School VV	1-	45.10	-1.32
School UU	0	44.81	-1.43
School SS	3	44.33	-1.58
School XX	79	42.46	-2.13
School YY	96	39.97	-2.87
School ZZ	96	38.51	-3.30

a. City mean of school means = 49.64.

b. One standard deviation of mean of school means = 3.37.

As shown in Table 6, the four lowest scoring elementary schools from the standpoint of measured aptitude are schools with more than 50% Negro children. The next three lowest scoring schools are substantially all-white in enrollment, but the difference

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for such schools. It must be understood of course that all pupils in such a school are neither disadvantaged nor low achieving, but the educational problems present in the school are a handicap to them as well as to low achieving children.

between their mean scores and those of three out of the four predominantly Negro schools is great when measured in terms of standard deviations. Also, the differences in mean scores among the 10 highest scoring schools are not nearly so great as the differences between the 10 lowest scoring schools; the highest scoring school scored only 1.72 standard deviations above the mean while all four of the lowest scoring schools exceeded this in plunging below the mean, and the lowest scoring school was more than 3 standard deviations below.

Much the same relationships are seen in Table 7 which deals with measured achievement. Three of the four predominantly Negro schools which appeared in Table 6 were ranked lowest, but the fourth on this achievement scale ranked seventh from the bottom. There was still a significant standard deviation difference between the three lowest schools and the predominantly white low-scoring schools above. And again the low schools fell a great deal further below the mean than the highest scoring schools climbed above it.

It is worth noting that in such low-scoring schools there are individuals who achieve at higher levels as shown in Chart 2.

The low measured performance of children in these schools must be viewed in light of the environment in which the children developed (Part IV of this Report) and the educational techniques by which the school system is attempting to educate them (Part VIII).

Race and Achievement

There is an indication that the mean achievement of Negro children in Portland schools is lower than the performance of white children in the same schools according both to cumulative testimony before our subcommittees and statistics in Part IX of this Report.

Observations elsewhere indicate that the mean achievement of Negro children in the lowest predominantly Negro disadvantaged schools is lower than the mean achievement of white children in the lowest predominantly white disadvantaged schools, even when the socio-economic background of the Negro and white children is substantially the same.[16]

It would appear, however, that the common denominator for low scoring, low achieving children whether white or Negro is a depressed socio-economic environment. Negroes with higher socio-economic environment perform at higher levels.[17] There is evidence both from research elsewhere and from testimony in Portland that low motivation of many Negro children, stemming directly or indirectly from their traditionally depressed role in American society, adversely affects their performance in school.[18]

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[16] Martin P. Deutsch, Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement, Monograph No. 2, Ithaca, N.Y., Society for Applied Anthropology, 1960. Conant, Slums and Suburbs, op. cit., pp. 26-27. "At first sight such facts might be taken as evidence as to the inherent superiority of the white children for academic work, but anyone who has observed even casually the situation of the Negro in the large cities and who knows the influence of the family on the school performance of the children will see the fallacy of any such conclusion. The position of the family in the total community . . . and the past performance of the friends and relatives of the family in getting a job and obtaining recognition enormously affect the attitude of the parents toward intellectual tasks and the desires and ambitions of the children."

[17] This is the observation of Portland principals. See Brown, Lee, and Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations; Brown, Lee, Minutes of the meeting, October 25, 1963, Subcommittee on Community and Home Environment. The same achievement tendency of socio-economic groups, without consideration of racial factors, is found in Kenneth Eels and others, Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[18] Ausubel, David P. and Pearl, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Columbia University, 1963), pp. 121, 124, 125-126, 178.

PART VII

CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE
DISADVANTAGED
SCHOOL

PART VII

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISADVANTAGED SCHOOL

We have seen that the general environment can affect a child's outlook, especially his educational outlook, and that the Albina area is typical of adverse effects on educational outlook. Residents of the area place lower on the socio-economic scale than the city of Portland as a whole, and non-white Albina residents on the average place lower on the scale than white residents of the same area. Moreover, there are severe family and community-attitude disadvantages for many of the children of the area.

Where significant numbers of children from such environments -- "disadvantaged" children -- are in the same school we find what we have called a "disadvantaged" school. In the case of Portland schools serving the area we have described place at or near the bottom of rank orders of mean aptitude and achievement.

In such schools the number of children who score less than 85 I.Q. exceeds the number who score above 115 I.Q. (I.Q. 85 and 115 are each 15 points from "normal").[1] Many children in such schools above 85 I.Q. lack sufficient motivation to achieve normal progress in regular classes. There are a sufficient number of such children in the regular classes to interrupt class progress and exhaust the teacher. Problems of discipline are frequent and severe. Children of low I.Q. and low achievement both consciously and unconsciously suppress the inclination of better students to apply themselves to their

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[1] Based on 1962-63 aptitude testing of third, fifth and seventh grade pupils in Portland elementary school.

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studies.[2]

There are seldom enough children with apparent ability in any grade level to justify educationally enriched or EE (superior student) classes. Actually the EE program applies to the upper 10% of the children in each school so EE classes could be held in the low-achieving schools, but principals of disadvantaged elementary schools often exercise an option to expend EE resources for other services more applicable to their enrollment.[3] Consequently, those few children with unusual ability do not have the same opportunity to progress as such children in schools with a more normal distribution of ability and achievement. For example, there are no EE classes in academic subjects at Boise, Eliot, Holladay and Highland. All other schools in the system have one half-time teacher allotted for this program.[4] The effect of selecting a fixed percentage from schools with widely differing curves of ability and achievement is to give EE courses in low scoring schools to children who would not qualify in high scoring schools. It also denies EE courses to children in high scoring schools who would qualify in most other schools.

The children frequently move from one home to another during the school year, causing transfers from one school to another.[5]

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[2] Brown, Lee, Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, op. cit., p. 37; Carl A. Marburger, "Considerations for Educational Planning," Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Columbia University, 1963), Part V, p. 300: It has been suggested nationally as well as experienced locally that "the typical school cannot compensate for the various lacks in the lives of children with limited backgrounds. The typical school does not provide these reinforcements to school learning which, in a stable, middle income area, are normally provided each child by his home and out-of-school life."

[3] Brown, Lee, Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, loc. cit.

[4] William B. Richter, Minutes of the meeting, November 4, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 14.

[5] Richter, ibid., p. 13, citing "Ratio of ADM to Total Enrollment, 1961-62," Portland Public Schools, mimeo undated. Couch, Buckman, Boise, Eliot, Holladay and Highland have the highest student turnover in that order.

This movement in the Albina area schools is ordinarily from school to school within that area.

Pupils are frequently tardy and the rate of absence is high.[6]

There are few organized youth activities for these children such as summer camps, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and Y activities.[7]

The turnover of teachers is higher than in other schools and there are, consequently, a larger number of inexperienced classroom teachers in these schools.[8] A number of these teachers are unable to cope with the unique problems of teaching children with low achievement and lack of motivation whose behavior in many cases violates a multitude of middle class expectations of the teacher.[9] In general, teacher and administrative expectations of these children is low. Some teachers express consciously or unconsciously a lack of empathy with these children and a lack of expectation that they are capable of learning which the children are quick to sense. Their response is to make life as difficult as possible for the teacher through organized resistance.[10] Other teachers with ability and empathy are grossly overworked, develop a sense of futility and of being overwhelmed with problems in which they feel neither the administration nor the community are sufficiently interested.[11] At the same time there are in each of these schools a number of remarkable teachers and principals who regard these problems as a challenge to teaching and who have exercised both ingenuity and devotion in trying to cope with them. These teachers have definite ideas concerning teacher training and curriculum changes they consider necessary to cope with disadvantaged schools.[12] As in any organization, there are undoubtedly a number of other teachers whose energy can be stimulated and whose pupil expectation can be raised concurrently with a major effort.

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[6] Brown, Lee, Rainwater, op. cit., pp. 36-43.

[7] Portland Community Council, Williams Avenue YWCA Study, A Report Prepared by the Committee of the Group Work and Recreation Division (Portland: Portland Community Council, 1956); Friendly House, Inc., Neighborhood Service Center -- A Project in the Development of Citizen Participation for the Albina District (2nd draft rev.; Portland: Friendly House, Inc. 1961).

[8] Research Memorandum, "Proposed Outline of Study," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, November 18, 1963), pp. 20-27; Research Memorandum, "Per Cent of Teacher Turnover for Certain Selected Elementary Schools -- 1958-1963," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, November 25, 1963), p. 32; Research Memorandum, "The Composition of the Staff in Portland Elementary Schools," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, May 14, 1964), pp. 148-151.

[9] Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, op. cit., pp. 36-43. Teacher training institutions do not prepare prospective teachers to cope with such schools, and only rarely has a prospective teacher had the practical personal experience required to cope with them.

The incidence of learning problems -- such as disturbed children, poor eyesight, physical handicaps -- in these schools appears to be, with few exceptions, higher than in other schools. Children with learning problems appear numerically in the following percentages proceeding from the school with the greatest number:[13]

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[10] Brown, Lee, Minutes of the meeting, October 25, 1963, op. cit., p. 11. There is probably no way to judge the probable effectiveness of a teacher-candidate in dealing with children of different background.

[11] Boyd, Reed thesis, loc. cit.; Brown, Lee, Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, op. cit., p. 36 et seq.; Lundy, Harriman, Clark, Minutes of the meeting, December 30, 1963, op. cit., p. 51 et seq.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Department of Research and Measurements, A Study of Child Services (Portland: Portland Public Schools, April, 1963), p. 246. It also appears from the Study that the greatest unmet needs occur in the schools with the highest incidence of such problems. However, caution must be used since identification of children with learning problems was in many cases the judgment of the teacher. A teacher in one school might consider a child as a "learning problem" while a teacher in another, more disadvantaged, school would consider the same child essentially normal.

Table 8

Elementary Schools with Greatest Percentages of Learning Problems in Portland

Couch	41.7%	Highland	24.7%
Peninsula	35.3%	Boise	24.6%
Eliot	29.7%	Astor	23.0%
Richmond	27.7%	Abernethy	22.8%
Humboldt	26.8%	Glencoe	20.8%

Disadvantaged schools in an urban area, then, occur where substantial numbers of children come from the lower end of the social and economic scale. These schools present unique and serious educational problems to the school system. In many cases the children that these schools are receiving are not competitive with children in other schools within the school system. Such children do not respond to the conventional teaching methods and conventional curriculum which is employed in higher socio-economic schools.

Negro Disadvantaged Child

Children discussed above are both white and Negro, but the Negro child who scores low both in capacity and achievement has generally had an even less adequate pre-school language experience than his white counterparts,[14] in addition to a relatively poor socio-economic background. There is often a very meager educational level in the parents.[15] For these reasons, the concentration of such depressed Negro children in certain schools intensifies and deepens the problem which also exists in some white schools.

Put another way, because color readily identifies the Negro, because historically they have been economically and socially depressed in comparison to the bulk of the white population, and because they have concentrated in certain residential areas, the Negro children exemplify an educational problem otherwise somewhat more scattered through the white community.

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[14] Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," op. cit., pp. 172-175.

[15] I.e., in 1960 nearly 30 per cent of the adult Negroes in Portland's area of Negro residential concentrations had not finished elementary school, compared to 12 per cent for the city as a whole.

The pattern of low achievement among Negro children exists across the country. By the time they reach high school this problem is obvious. Henry Hillson, principal of George Washington High School in the Higher Horizons Program in New York City, reports that in general at age 15 Negro students are two years behind grade level in reading and farther behind in mathematics. By the time they reach high school, according to him, few Negroes in New York City are capable of accomplishing academic work.[16]

At Portland's Jefferson High School, 6.9 per cent of the student body is in special achievement classes and 8 per cent are eligible, far higher than in any other high school. Negro children account for 75 per cent of the special achievement students at Jefferson, although constituting one quarter of the student body.[17] Irrespective of cause, a child placed in special achievement classes in high school is not competitive with his peers. He has not been educated as we use the term. At best he is being given custodial care and some training.

Finally, in addition to the disadvantages which white and Negro children of low socio-economic status share, the Negro child is often convinced his opportunities in later life will be meager compared to those of his white counterpart. Often these children are not aware of the improving opportunities for Negroes. They perceive a closed and hostile world. They bear in a very real sense the psychological scars of 300 years of oppression, of containment in a subservient social role. The white child sees about him in his books, his newspaper, and his television, the interaction and activity of white society -- a model for his own conduct and emulation. The Negro child has no such constant models. This is why in a predominantly Negro school it is sometimes hard to convince the Negro child that he belongs to our society, that he can achieve and that achievement will be rewarded. It is not simply a question of academic motivation; it is a matter of social education as well: the preparation of both white and Negro children for citizenship. We must create the child's perception of his society as one of equal opportunity for each individual. If the Negro's aspiration level is to be raised, his acquired attitude of disbelief must be overcome. This is why the recent appearance of Negroes in non-stereotyped roles on television, in sports, in movies and in public life is of such importance to Negro children.

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[16] William B. Richter, quoting Hillson at the Conference on the High School in the Big Cities, Stanford University, 1963.

[17] For more detailed analysis of the special achievement (mentally retarded) program, see Part X of this Report.

It is perhaps unnecessary to point out the social cost of socio-economic depression and cultural isolation. Relief and ADC running now through three generations has relieved individual suffering, but their effect upon the chronically depressed portions of our population and especially upon the Negro is incalculable. The cost of placing a child in the productive mainstream of American society is only a fraction of the cost of dealing with him as an adult -- untrained, unemployed, alternating between lethargy in, and hostility toward, the society which has rejected him.

PART VIII

PORTLAND EFFORTS TO COPE WITH SPECIAL LEARNING PROBLEMS

PART VIII

PORTLAND EFFORTS TO COPE WITH SPECIAL LEARNING PROBLEMS

In any large school system there are many children who present particular physical or emotional problems to the learning process. In Table 8 we observed that certain Portland schools have a greater accumulation of such problems than other schools.

The Portland schools have made commendable progress in coping with many of these problems, creating productive citizens in many cases where, without special help, social drains would have resulted; in addition, our schools have stimulated greater achievement where unusual ability is found. But our school people believe they have only scratched the surface of their opportunities in these fields. One difficulty has been availability of resources. For instance, in competition for precious classroom space, regular instructional programs will prevail in every instance since regular programs serve the greatest number and the community's greatest need. This seems particularly true where programs of enriched education (superior student) and special achievement (mentally retarded) are concerned. If a principal is short of classrooms and must make a choice between a regular program and either an EE or SA class, he is forced to decide in favor of the regular program. We are not critical of his choice but of the necessity of making a choice which limits the potential of both superior and retarded children.

Cultural Disadvantages Largely Neglected

The most significant observation we can make in this area is that District No. 1 has emphasized and developed elaborate programs for individual children who have special physical and mental problems, but has paid little attention to the educational consequences of low socio-economic environment in disadvantaged schools.[1] We hasten to point out that investigation and experimentation in this area is very recent in all but a very few large city school systems where the problem may be more apparent than in Portland. It is most important to note that the concentration of Negro children in high percentages has developed in Portland grade schools only in the past decade. As an example of lack of awareness of the extensive differences in achievement and results in the Portland schools with which we are concerned, consider the City Club of Portland study on the Negro in Portland which was published in 1957, which mentioned the school system only in passing, noting that there was a concentration of Negroes in some grade schools as a consequence of residence.[2] The Oregon State Department of Education has made no study of the significance of low socio-economic backgrounds in education, and is aware of no such studies.[3]

The newness of recognition of the problem of disadvantaged schools in Portland and the very recent concentration of Negro children has meant that the Portland system has had no organized plan or program to cope with it. Principals and teachers attribute the tardiness of action to several causes: a feeling that the community would not support special help to such schools; an attitude among parents in such schools that they wanted exactly the same program and curriculum as in all other schools, and perhaps the already established orientation of treating the individual child rather than dealing with the group of children and their environment.[4]

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[1] cf Schwab, Minutes of the meeting, December 2, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, and A Study of Child Services, op. cit. The Jefferson Project--Review and Progress (Portland: School District No. 1, 1963), describes a bootstrap project by Jefferson High School faculty in Portland aided by the administration, to try a unified approach to disadvantaged children in what is becoming a disadvantaged high school. While much may be learned, it seems obvious that for the most part the attitudes, habits and patterns of low achievement are, by the high school years, irreversible in most cases.

[2] City Club of Portland, "A Report on the Negro in Portland: A Progress Report 1945-1957," Portland City Club Bulletin (Portland: City Club of Portland, n.d.), p. 368.

[3] Letter from Glen L. Weaver, Coordinator of Guidance Services, State Department of Education, Salem, Oregon, to Forest Amsden, October 23, 1963.

Administrative officials, teachers and principals in Portland's disadvantaged schools all agree that a depressed socio-economic environment is a major factor in low achievement, and the concentration of children with such backgrounds is the chief factor in creating disadvantaged schools. Generally, the broad level of achievement of a child varies in direct ratio with his socio-economic environment. Although there is some cutting across of socio-economic lines by achievers and non-achievers, the difference in such instances is usually whether or not there is a home environment which supports the child and encourages education and learning.[5]

So special services provided in Portland for children with learning difficulties deal with physical and emotional problems and not with the facts of cultural deprivation or disadvantage. What are these services?

Obvious Handicaps

Orthopedically Handicapped and Cerebral Palsy: a program for approximately 60 children from ages 3 to 16. Children follow a regular program without grade level, using special material, and are integrated into the eighth grade during their last year. Transportation to Holladay Center is provided.[6]

Home Instruction: a program whereby special teachers provide home instruction for some 135 elementary and 121 high school children ages 6 to 21 who may not be able to attend school because of emotional or physical handicaps. The normal curriculum is followed insofar as possible.[7]

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[4] Brown, Lee, Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, op. cit., pp. 37-38; Lundy, Harriman, Clark, Minutes of the meeting, December 30, 1963, loc. cit.

[5] Brown, Lee, Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, loc. cit. See also, Riessman, Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged, op. cit., pp. 3-5.

[6] A Study of Child Services, op. cit., p. 37.

[7] Ibid., p. 51.

Speech Correction and Hard of Hearing: a program of help for about 1,400 children in 54 elementary and 11 high schools. It includes all who have serious speech or hearing handicaps, and about two-thirds of those with moderately severe handicaps. Few children with mild difficulty are offered help.[8]

Deaf: a program at Hosford for about 60 children of preschool and school age, and at Bridger and Clark for preschool children. Transportation is provided.[9]

Blind: a program for about 30 youngsters, most of whom are in regular classrooms, and are given Braille instruction at home and school.[10]

Partially Sighted: a program for about 100 children who need special help and materials in regular classes.[11]

Health and Social Services

Health Services: a program whereby 35 public health nurses employed by the City Bureau of Health are assigned to schools in certain city areas, and who in some cases give a higher level of service to schools with greatest health problems. The schools furnish 40% of the Bureau's public health nurse budget in exchange for the service. (Nurse service for District No. 1 schools outside the city is provided without charge by the County Health Department.) The program is deficient in follow up counseling in high schools, health education, vision screening and home follow up on school-identified problems. There is no dental screening program; this is reported as a serious deterrent to learning with indigent children.[12]

Psychological Services: a program whereby children are referred for psychological check-ups by their school to test "ability to function effectively in school". In 1961-62, 192 high school students and 2,602 grade school pupils were tested; about 700 referrals a year are untested and there is no follow up after testing because of a shortage of personnel.[13] Studies in other cities emphasize importance of sufficient psychological services.[14]

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[8] Ibid., p. 71. [9] Ibid., p. 87. [10] Ibid., p. 101.

[11] Ibid., p. 112. [12] Ibid., p. 123. Also see Appendix D.

[13] Ibid., p. 137.

Social Workers: a program whereby 24 school social workers are assigned to 57 elementary schools and all high schools on a rotating basis, in order to check into home and community factors affecting children having school problems. There is insufficient personnel to provide an adequate level of services; follow through with parents is often unavailable; group therapy is rarely undertaken; teacher co-ordination and follow through is weak.[15] Principals of disadvantaged schools say social workers are spread too thinly upon the numbers of children needing attention.[16]

Remedial Reading

Reading difficulties are characteristic of disadvantaged school children.[17] This service provides for children reading substantially below their age level, and is found in 62 elementary and 10 high schools. Children are taught in groups of three to five, four to five days a week, for 30 to 40 minutes of instruction per day. Service is not provided in 19 elementary schools (1963-64) because of lack of funds or space and perhaps because of lack of interest by some principals. The most serious gap in the program is failure to provide assistance for children who are having reading difficulties but who have not fallen substantially behind or who do not have sufficient aptitude to meet the program's criteria.[18] Reading is regarded as basic to learning by practically all authorities.

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[14] A. Harry Passow (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Columbia University, 1963), pp. 170, 345. Promising Practices from the Projects for the Culturally Deprived, A Report Prepared by the Research Council (Chicago: The Great Cities Program for School Improvement, 1964), pp. 48-49.

[15] A Study of Child Services, op. cit., p. 151.

[16] Brown, Lee, Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, op. cit., pp. 36-41.

[17] The literature is voluminous on this point as was testimony throughout the Minutes of the School Plant and Operations Subcommittee.

[18] A Study of Child Services, op. cit., p. 59.

Mental Retardation

The special achievement (mental retardation) program complies with state requirements and receives reimbursable funds from the state. Its purpose is to help mentally retarded pupils become economically self-sufficient and socially acceptable. Academic and fundamental skills are taught in sequence to help the child develop at his level of ability. Classes are maintained in the elementary schools (from age 8) through high school graduation.

Eligibility requirements, established in conformity with state regulation, are that the child be at least eight years of age and have an I.Q. between 55-75. The students must be of compulsory school age, have had a recent individual intelligence test and psychological report, have sufficient social and emotional stability to be educable, have on file a written acceptance by parents followed by proper counseling, have a physician's examination, and have been accepted at a group conference involving representatives of the school and Special Education.[19] Referrals for pupils thought to be mentally retarded are made to the consultant for mentally retarded. Each case is considered individually and class placement depends upon the individual's ability to profit from the program.[20]

Approximately half of the special achievement children are transferred to schools other than their neighborhood school because of space difficulties; transportation is provided by public carriers at district expense.[21]

The program has grown from six elementary teachers with 85 pupils in 1955 to 460 elementary pupils and 544 secondary pupils enrolled in 1963. Classes are maintained at 31 elementary schools and in all high schools except Benson and Girls Poly.[22]

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[19] Child Services Handbook, (Portland Public Schools, 1961), p. 11.

[20] Edgar A. Taylor, Minutes of the meeting, December 2, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 24-27.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

Those in charge of the program believe all eligible high school students whose parents have been willing to have them placed in MR classes are now in MR classes, and that approximately two-thirds of the eligible elementary-age MR children are in such classes. The reason all eligible elementary children are not in MR classes is shortage of classroom space and trained teachers as well as administrative reluctance to have more than 30 pupils per elementary school in MR classes. Eligible children are scattered throughout the entire city but the concentration of both those in such classes and those identified as eligible is in the Albina area.[23]

Operation of the mentally retarded program is of great concern to this Committee. The reasons for our concern will be discussed at length in Part X of this Report.

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[23] Ibid. Also, Research Memorandum, No. 17, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, January 13, 1964, p. 68 and attachment.

PART IX

THE PRODUCT
OF
PORTLAND'S
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

PART IX

THE PRODUCT OF PORTLAND'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

We have examined the phenomenon of disadvantaged children and their special education problems in Portland and, where such children are present in large numbers, the development of what can be called disadvantaged schools. The problem of Negro children stood out in the examination. Later we shall describe proposals which come from various sources for dealing with disadvantaged children and Negro children in particular. At this time we will attempt to measure the effectiveness, system-wide, of Portland's schools in educating children of various social and economic backgrounds.

The ultimate proof of a school system's effective value probably must be the performance and aspirations of its students and their qualifications for economic and social life after their graduation. These are not easy to measure but we have attempted to do so by using the criteria available.

One purpose of our examination of this criteria is to answer the question: "Are the Portland schools providing children of all races with equal educational opportunities?", as measured by the results. Since our major concern has been the extent to which Portland Negro students are provided with equal educational opportunities, we have singled out Negro performance.

One of our research efforts has been development of a profile of members of the class of 1964 in all 12 Portland public secondary schools. For this purpose we have examined the school records of each senior in that class. This tells us nothing about the qualifications of the student who dropped out of school somewhere along the line; for that student, data are nearly non-existant. Our main considerations were:

1) How did Negro seniors compare with the non-Negro seniors?

2) How did non-Negroes from high socio-economic backgrounds compare to those from low?

3) How did Negroes from various socio-economic levels and from various racially-concentrated grade schools compare to each other, and to whites from similar backgrounds or different backgrounds?

The data and our qualifications to judge it are insufficient to permit more than a few generalizations. Nevertheless these generalizations are disquieting.

Major Samples Used

Most of the tables in this part of our Report deal with seniors who came to high school from 21 carefully selected grade schools. For comparative purposes we chose these groups of grade schools:

A) The five schools in which the 1960 (estimated) proportion of the student body which was Negro exceeded 25%: Boise, Eliot, Highland, Holladay, Irvington. Actually, with the exception of Irvington, the Negro enrollment of these schools exceeded 50%.

B) Four of the schools in which the 1960 proportion of the student body who were Negro was between 5% and 24%: Peninsula, Sabin, Terwilliger, Vernon.

C) Four of the schools in which the 1960 student body was predominantly white and drawn largely from lower income families:[1] Buckman, Shattuck, Portsmouth, Kelly.

D) Four of the schools in which the 1960 student body was predominantly white and drawn largely from middle income families:[2] Woodstock, Vestal, Chief Joseph, Glencoe.

E) Four of the schools in which the 1960 student body was predominantly white and drawn largely from higher income families:[3] Duniway, Laurelhurst, Capitol Hill, Ainsworth.

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[1] Research Memorandum, "Median Incomes of Families by School Area" (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, May 29, 1964), pp. 72-73.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

These 21 schools produced 145 of the 196 Negro seniors in the 1964 senior class at all 12 high schools.

We emphasize two limitations to the data:

1) Income categorization was made from census figures on median income of the area served by a school. The incomes ascribed to families served by schools in the last three groups therefore can be questioned. It is possible that the use of median income causes distortions because in some cases median income of an area may be far from mean or average income. Also, median income tells us nothing about the range of family income which might be found in a given school.

2) The data for these schools have been taken at fixed points in time and do not account for dynamic changes which can rapidly outdate statistics. For instance, Irvington is included in the group of schools having 25% or greater Negro enrollment in 1960, but by the time these 1960 eighth graders graduated from high school, only 5 out of 55 (9%) of the Irvington group were Negro. Further, the non-Negro seniors from Irvington achieved at a relatively high level and since they represent nearly half of all non-Negro seniors originating in grade schools which were 25% or more Negro they tend to raise sharply the performance of this non-Negro group. Irvington is, of course, an example of a high socio-economic neighborhood which has undergone rapid population changes in a short period of time.

High School Programs

First, how did these students compare on the basis of the high school programs they pursued? Strictly speaking, there are no clear-cut programs; for comparison, however, we adopted the following criteria: 1) Special Achievement: this is a valid classification; it refers to those in the mentally retarded program. 2) Enriched: a student who has taken at least two EE courses. 3) Academic: student has taken algebra or higher mathematics; chemistry of physics; two years of foreign language. He must fit two of these categories to be put in this classification. 4) Vocational: student taking distributive education or diversified occupations; or at least two courses in typing, shorthand, bookkeeping, office practice, business machines, etc. 5) Academic-Vocational: one who met our criteria for both the academic and vocational classification. 6) General Education: all other students.

Table 9

Program Followed	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White High Inc.		All Seniors		% Al Seni
	Distribution of 1964 Seniors from Selected Grade Schools												
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	
Special Achiever	22	2	0	0	6	2	0	1	0	1	32 (16%)	67 (1%)	2%
Enriched	1	7	1	24	0	7	0	31	0	48	3 (2%)	441 (9%)	9%
Academic	15	57	2	77	0	64	1	95	0	157	33 (17%)	1935 (39%)	39%
Vocational	32	24	2	41	1	50	0	56	0	19	45 (23%)	965 (20%)	20%
Acad.-Voc.	2	1	2	16	0	21	0	29	0	13	5 (3%)	315 (6%)	6%
General Ed.	45	23	6	56	5	69	2	70	0	44	78 (40%)	1177 (24%)	25%
	117	114	13	214	12	213	3	282	0	282	196	4900	

Special Achievement: Two per cent of the senior class is in the MR program -- 1% of the non-Negroes and 16% of the Negroes. Of Negroes from schools of high Negro enrollment, 19% are MR; of non-Negroes, 2%. Of Negroes from schools in which the Negro enrollment is 5%-24%, none are MR, and the same is true of non-Negroes. Of Negroes in white low income schools, 50% are MR while 1% of the non-Negroes are. In middle income schools, .4% of the non-Negroes are MR and in upper income white schools, .4% also.

Enriched Education: Nine per cent of non-Negroes are in the superior student program and 2% of the Negroes. For Negroes, .9% of those in heavily Negro schools are EE compared to 6% of the non-Negroes. In schools 5%-24% Negroes in enrollment, 8% of the Negroes are EE compared to 11% non-Negroes. In predominantly white low income schools, none of the Negroes entered high school EE while 3% of the non-Negroes did. In middle income white schools, 11% of the non-Negro students became EE, and in upper income schools 17% did.

Academic: In heavily Negro schools, 13% of the Negroes were in the academic program, 50% of the non-Negroes. In schools 5%-24% Negro, 15% of the Negroes became a part of the academic program, 36% of the non-Negroes. In low income white schools, no Negroes qualified, 30% of the non-Negroes. In middle income white schools, 33% of the Negroes (only 3 students total in all programs) and 34% of the non-Negroes. In upper income schools, 56% of the non-Negroes were academic.

Vocational: In heavily Negro schools, 27% of the Negroes and 21% of the non-Negroes were vocational. In schools 5%-24% Negro, 15% of the Negroes and 19% of the non-Negroes were in a vocational program. In low income white schools 9% of the Negroes and 23% of the non-Negroes were vocational. In middle income white schools, no Negroes and 20% of the non-Negroes were vocational. In upper income white schools, 7% of the product which reached the senior year in high school followed a vocational program.

Acadmic-Vocational: Of seniors from high Negro enrollment grade schools, 2% of the Negroes and slightly less than 1% of the non-Negroes were academic-vocational in high school program. In schools 5%-24% Negro, 15% of the Negroes and 7% of the non-Negroes were so classified. In low income white schools, no Negroes and 10% of the non-Negroes classified. In middle income white schools, no Negroes and 11% of the whites fit academic-vocational patterns. In upper income white schools, 5% of the non-Negroes pursued both academic and vocational programs.

General Education: In heavily Negro schools, 38% of the Negroes followed a generally directionless general education program and 20% of the non-Negroes. In schools 5%-24% Negro in enrollment, 46% of the Negroes were general education and 26% non-Negroes. In low income white schools, 45% of the Negroes and 32% of the non-Negroes were in general education. In middle income white schools, 66% of the Negroes and 25% of the non-Negroes were so classified. In upper income white schools, 16% of the non-Negroes were general education.

From Table 9 we can make several observations:

1) There are too many Negro students in the mentally retarded program and the general education program, neither of which leads anywhere in terms of immediate job qualifications or qualifications for higher education.

2) There are too few Negroes in the enriched program and the academic program.

3) Only in the vocational program is the percentage of Negro students in line with that of non-Negro students.

High School Survival Rate

We examined the eighth-grade-to-senior survival rate of the grade schools in our sample. Such survival rates do not indicate drop-out rate because they do not account for students who move from the city between eighth grade and high school graduations, or who require either more or less than four years to complete high school.

Table 10

Eighth Grade to Senior Survival Rate, Selected Portland Schools, 1960-64

Grade Schools	No. Seniors	No. Graduated 8th Grade 1960	Students Missing	% Students Missing
25%+ Negro Schools				
Boise	66	95	29	30.5
Eliot	19	37	18	48.6
Highland	78	102	24	23.5
Holladay	13	20	7	35.0
Irvington	55	76	21	27.6
5-school survival rate = 70%				
5%-24% Negro Schools				
Peninsula	81	100	19	19.0
Terwilliger	26	36	10	27.8
Vernon	64	88	24	27.3
Sabin	56	80	24	30.0
4-school survival rate = 75%				
Low Income Predominantly White Schools				
Buckman	50	87	37	42.5
Shattuck	31	55	24	43.6
Portsmouth	91	120	29	24.2
Kelly	53	76	23	30.3
4-school survival rate = 67%				

Table 10--Continued

Eighth Grade to Senior Survival Rate, Selected Portland Schools, 1960-64

Grade Schools	No. Seniors	No. Graduated 8th Grade 1960	Students Missing	% Students Missing
Middle Income Predominantly White Schools				
Woodstock	70	92	22	23.9
Vestal	85	115	30	26.1
Chief Joseph	49	63	14	22.2
Glencoe	75	101	26	25.7
4-school survival rate = 75%				
Higher Income Predominantly White Schools				
Ainsworth	63	80	17	21.3
Duniway	88	97	9	9.3
Laurelhurst	75	102	27	26.5
Capitol Hill	56	60	4	6.7
4-school survival rate = 83%				

While it cannot be concluded that the missing students are drop-outs, the percentage of missing students seems exceptionally high for the following schools: Eliot 49%, Shattuck 44%, Buckman 43%, Holladay 35%, Boise 31%, Kelly 30%, and Sabin 30%. Three of these schools are schools with 25% or more Negro students (out of only five such K-8 schools in the system) and three are schools serving low income, predominantly non-Negro students (out of only four such K-8 schools in our sample).

Unfortunately, we were not able to identify the racial characteristics of 1960 eighth graders. Thus, we cannot say whether Negroes are missing in a higher proportion than non-Negroes. However, it will be noted that Negro seniors who originated in schools which in 1960 had Negro enrollments of between 5%-24% constitute 5.7% of the seniors who originated in these schools. If the 1960 eighth grades in these schools had the same racial distribution as the schools as a whole -- and this cannot be assumed -- Negroes would have constituted something like 12% of the graduating eighth grade classes in those schools.

Also, Irvington had 30% Negroes in 1960 but Irvington-originated 1964 seniors were only 9% Negro. One might deduce from this that the drop-out rate was greater among Negroes from these schools than for non-Negroes. Such a deduction is reinforced by data from a drop-out pursuit project undertaken last year by District No. 1: in an attempt to find all school-age or near-school-age high school drop-outs residing in the Jefferson and Washington High School attendance areas, researchers identified 286 drop-outs of whom 119 (42%) were Negro; the combined Jefferson and Washington High School enrollment was only 18% Negro in 1963-64.

Aptitude

The aptitude level of 1964 seniors as determined by standardized aptitude and achievement tests provides more fruitful material for comparison. Caution must be used because of the weight of educational opinion that standardized tests cannot measure true native aptitude because of built-in cultural factors. However, it remains true that people are hired or admitted to higher education on the basis of such criteria.

Table 11

Aptitude Level of Seniors on Standardized Tests

School Group	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White Higher Inc.	
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N
Iowa "9" P Compos:										
20 - 49:	67	41	8	99	3	119	1	128	-	70
50 - 70:	10	49	2	160	0	72	1	132	-	185
Iowa "11" P Compos:										
20 - 49:	71	42	10	92	4	104	2	107	-	62
50 - 70:	14	62	2	114	0	95	1	157	-	231
"10" SCAT P Compos:										
20 - 49:	71	41	9	83	5	107	1	105	-	61
50 - 70:	13	61	2	118	0	83	1	157	-	201

(Since each of the students did not necessarily take all of the tests the figures given will not necessarily equal the totals in earlier tables. On the Portland standard scoring system, a score of 50 is the mean or average; a person scoring above 50 is above average and vice-versa.)

Table 12

Aptitude Level of Seniors on College Board Tests

School Group	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White Higher Inc.	
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N
PSAT Standard Verbal:										
20 - 49:	14	26	1	51	0	54	1	72	-	112
50 - 70:	0	16	0	20	0	9	0	27	-	76
PSAT Standard Math:										
20 - 49:	14	24	0	48	0	41	1	60	-	79
50 - 70:	0	18	1	23	0	22	0	38	-	109
SAT Standard Verbal:										
20 - 49:	17	14	2	35	0	34	1	50	-	71
50 - 70:	2	19	1	23	0	20	0	44	-	87
SAT Standard Math:										
20 - 49:	16	12	2	27	0	25	1	46	-	56
50 - 70:	3	20	1	31	0	29	0	48	-	102

(The scores for the PSAT and SAT can be converted to the more usually quoted college board scores by adding a zero. A score of 500 is average.)

From Tables 11 and 12 we observe that scores achieved by the Negro students are consistently lower than those achieved by non-Negro students, and this is true whether or not the Negro student is a graduate of a grade school with a heavy proportion of Negroes in its student body. It is also noted that although 23 of the Negro seniors (16%) took the Scholastic Aptitude Test, only 3 of them scored above 50 on the verbal and 4 on the mathematical sections of the test. The extremes of test score performance by non-Negro students are found on the low side in low income white schools and on the high side in high income white schools, rather than in schools with high concentrations of Negro students.

These points are better illustrated in Table 13.

Table 13

Percentages of Seniors Scoring Above Mean on Standard Tests

	Schools 25%+ Negro	Schools 5%-24% Negro	Schools White Low Inc.	Schools White Mid. Inc.	Schools White High Inc.
9th Grade ITED					
Negroes	13%	20%	0%	50%	%
Non-Negroes	54	62	38	51	73
Both	35	60	37	51	73
10th Grade SCAT					
Negroes	15%	18%	0%	%	%
Non-Negroes	59	59	44	60	77
Both	40	57	43	60	77
11th Grade ITED					
Negroes	16%	17%	0%	%	%
Non-Negroes	60	55	47	59	76
Both	40	53	43	59	76

Negro seniors included in the preceding three tables were those who originated in the 21 grade schools of our basic sample; these included all Negro youngsters from the so-called ghetto schools wherein the proportion of Negro enrollment was and is high. But there were 51 other Negro seniors who did not originate in the 21 schools of the comparative sample; these originated in scattered grade schools in the system, all predominantly white and running the range in socio-economic background of families served by the school, or they originated in schools outside Portland. How did these fare on standardized tests?

Table 14

Standardized Test Performance by Negro Seniors Originating in Scattered Grade Schools -- 1964

Test[a]	Score Below 50 Mean	Score Above 50 Mean	% Above Mean
Iowa 9	18	6	25.0
SCAT 10	27	5	15.6
Iowa 11	28	7	20.0

a. All seniors did not take all tests.

It appears on the basis of Tables 11, 12, 13 and 14 that aptitude and achievement as measured by standardized tests do not fundamentally differ among Portland Negro high school students regardless of the percentage of racial concentration or geographic area of the grade school in which the basic education was received.

Table 15

Aptitude Level of Negro Seniors From Scattered Schools on College Board Tests -- 1964

Test[a]	Score Below 50 Mean	Score Above 50 Mean	% Above Mean
PSAT Verbal	5	1	16.7
PSAT Math	4	2	33.3
SAT Verbal	9	1	10.0
SAT Math	9	1	10.0

a. All seniors did not take all tests.

It would appear comparing Table 15 to Table 12 that Negro seniors originating in scattered predominantly white grade schools performed slightly better on college board examinations than Negro seniors originating in grade schools with higher Negro enrollments. However, the scattered sample Negro seniors still performed at a low level and the numbers of Negroes taking these tests is a small sample.

Achievement

One measure of achievement in school is grades received, recognizing the wide variation possible in the subjective judgments of the many teachers who will deal with one child in four years.

Table 16

Grade Level Achievement 1964 Seniors From Selected Grade Schools as Indicated by GPA at Grade 12

School Group:	Schools 25%+		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Income		Schools White Mid. Income		Schools White High Inc.		Totals	
Grade Point Average	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N
3:00 - 4:00	5(5)	29(26)	1(8)	50(24)	0	47(22)	0	78(28)	0	114(41)	6(5)	308(29
2:00 - 2:99	33(35)	51(46)	4(31)	97(46)	1(17)	102(49)	1(33)	133(48)	0	126(45)	39(33)	509(47
1:00 - 1:99	56(59)	32(29)	8(62)	62(29)	5(83)	57(27)	2(66)	62(23)	0	39(14)	71(61)	252(23
0:00 - 0:99	1(1)	0	0	3(1)	0	4(2)	0	2(1)	0	2(1)	1(1)	11(1
	95	112	13	212	6	210	3	275	0	281	117	1,080

Special Achievement (mentally retarded) program students do not receive grades. Therefore, the MR students from these grade school groups are not reflected in either the numbers or percentages above. The figures in parenthesis are percentages of the Negroes and non-Negroes in the particular group.

Insofar as achievement is measured by grades, the number of Negro and non-Negro students achieving above a 2.00 (or "C") average is disproportionate in favor of non-Negroes. A grade point average of 2.00 or better is, we point out, required for admission to state colleges and universities, although the standard has been raised somewhat for the 1964 fall term at some schools because of budget limitations. A percentage tabular presentation including mentally retarded students indicates this:

Table 17

Per Cent Seniors Achieving 2.00 GPA or Higher, Selected Schools

	Schools 25%+ Negro	Schools 5%-24% Negro	Schools White Low Inc.	Schools White Mid. Inc.	Schools White High Inc.
Negroes	32%	38%	8%	33%	%
Non-Negroes	70	69	70	76	85
Both	51	68	70	76	85

As the table indicates, 30 to 35% more non-Negroes secure grade point averages of 2.00 or better. The performance of an insignificant sample of Negroes in schools which are predominantly white low income is poorer than that of Negroes in schools with either 25% plus Negroes or 5%-24% Negroes, while the performance of Negroes in each group of schools which has the most Negroes -- 25% plus and 5%-24% -- is roughly comparable. In general, the performance of non-Negroes seems to rise as the family income level represented in the school rises.

Again, the preceding two tables include only the seniors originating in our basic 21-school sample. This includes all but 51 of the Negro seniors of the class of 1964. What grade point averages were achieved by these scattered seniors?

Table 18

Grade Point Average of Negro Seniors Originating
In Scattered Grade Schools, 1964

	Programs[a]					
GPA	Enriched	Academic	Vocational	General Ed.	Academic-Voc.	Per Cent
3:00-4:00	1	3	-	-	-	7.8
2:00-2:99	-	12	4	7	-	45.1
1:00-1:99	-	-	6	12	1	37.3
0:00-0:99	-	-	-	1	-	1.9

a. Special Achievement students who do not receive grades are included in calculating percentages.

Comparing the grade point averages of Negro seniors originating in scattered predominantly white grade schools

(Table 18) to the averages of those from either group of schools in which there are higher concentrations of Negroes (Table 17), the Negroes from the scattered schools achieve at a somewhat higher rate as measured by GPA's. This is what we might have expected in light of Tables 13, 14 and 15 since the standardized test performance of the scattered Negro seniors was also somewhat better, although the improvement was not fundamental. Test performance was such that these GPA's seem higher than would have been predicted.

Negro Aptitude and Achievement by Type of School

So far we have compared Negroes from 1) grade schools with high Negro enrollments, 2) grade schools of smaller but significant Negro enrollments, and 3) grade schools in which the enrollment was almost entirely white.

Next we will examine the aptitude and achievement as measured by the same devices in order to compare all the Negroes in the senior class on these bases: 1) Negroes from grade schools in which there was a high or moderate number of Negroes, or where the predominantly white enrollment was drawn from low income families; compared to 2) all other Negroes in the senior class -- those who originated in grade schools which had few Negroes and which ran the range of socio-economic status.

Table 19

Aptitude and Achievement of Negro Students, Portland High Schools Class of 1964

Grade School Groups	Schools 25%+ Negro	Schools 5%-24% Negro	Schools White Low Inc.	Total In 3 Groups[a]	Other Negro Seniors	Totals
Iowa 9						
Above mean	10	2	0	12	7	19
Total tested	77	10	3	90	26	116
% Above mean	13%	20%	0%	13%	27%	16%
Iowa 11						
Above mean	14	2	0	16	8	24
Total tested	85	10	4	99	38	140
% Above mean	16%	20%	0%	16%	21%	17%

Table 19--Continued

Grade School Groups	Schools 25%+ Negro	Schools 5%-24% Negro	Schools White Low Inc.	Total In 3 Groups[a]	Other Negro Seniors	Totals
SCAT 10						
Above mean	13	2	0	15	6	21
Total tested	84	11	5	100	29	129
% Above mean	15%	18%	0%	15%	21%	16%
Eligible for above tests	95	13	6	114	47	
PSAT Verbal						
Above mean	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total tested	14	1	0	15	9	24
% Above mean	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%	8%
PSAT Math						
Above mean	0	1	0	1	2	3
Total tested	14	1	0	15	8	23
% Above mean	0%	100%	0%	7%	25%	13%
SAT Verbal						
Above mean	2	1	0	3	1	4
Total tested	19	3	0	22	11	33
% Above mean	5%	33%	0%	14%	9%	12%
SAT Math						
Above mean	3	1	0	4	1	5
Total tested	19	3	0	22	11	33
% Above mean	16%	33%	0%	18%	9%	15%
Grade Point Average						
2.00 or higher	38	5	1	44	27	71
Negroes in group	117	13	12	142	54	196
% Above 2.00	32%	38%	8%	31%	50%	36%

[a] Total of Negro students in schools 25%+ Negro, schools 5%-24% Negro, and those predominantly white, low income.

From Table 19 we observe that on these criteria:

1) Negro seniors who originated in scattered predominantly white grade schools performed rather better than Negro

seniors who originated in grade schools either with relatively high Negro enrollment or low income white enrollment. For instance, 27% of the scattered sample scored above the mean on the ninth grade Iowa compared to 13% of the concentrated or low income sample; 21% to 16% of the 11th grade Iowa; 21% to 15% on the 10th grade SCAT; and 50% achieved GPA's of 2.00 or better compared to 31%. An exception is the Scholastic Aptitude Test, in which the concentrated sample scored above the mean more often than the scattered sample.

2) While the scattered sample performed better than the concentrated or low income sample, the level of achievement by Negroes from scattered predominantly white grade schools in itself is not good.

3) It is suspected but not proven that some Negroes who achieved above the mean on the Iowa and SCAT tests did not take the college board examinations because college board performance was lower than predicted by Iowa and SCAT performances.

4) A seemingly large number of Negro seniors did not receive scores for, and presumably did not take, standardized tests supposedly given all non-mentally retarded Portland high school students. There were 164 Negro seniors not in MR classes; only 116 (71%) have an Iowa 9th grade record, 140 (85%) have an Iowa 11th grade record, and 129 (79%) have a 10th grade SCAT record. Although the PSAT and SAT examinations are not required it is interesting to note that only 23 (14%) took both the verbal and mathematical sections of the PSAT and only 33 (20%) took the SAT.

Aspiration

The post-graduation plans of senior students -- immediate and long-range -- give some indication of their aspirations and what has motivated them in school.

Table 20

Immediate Post-Graduation Plans, 1964 Seniors From Selected Schools

	Total Seniors 5,096 % of Total	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Middle Inc.		Schools White High Inc.	Total Seniors	
		N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N/N	N	N/N
		117	114	13	214	11	213	3	276	282	196	4,900[d]
1[a]	(3)[bc]	4 (3)	1 (1)	0	7 (3)	0	16 (8)	0	9 (3)	7 (2)	5 (3)	163 (3)
2	(14)	13 (11)	7 (6)	2 (15)	29 (14)	1 (9)	35 (16)	1 (33)	44 (16)	27 (10)	27 (14)	679 (14)
3	(54)	33 (28)	59 (52)	7 (54)	127 (59)	2 (18)	94 (44)	1 (33)	157 (57)	217 (77)	73 (37)	2,683 (55)
4	(4)	11 (9)	5 (4)	0	8 (4)	1 (9)	7 (3)	0	11 (4)	9 (3)	12 (6)	193 (4)
5	(15)	31 (26)	21 (18)	1 (8)	22 (10)	4 (36)	32 (15)	0	39 (14)	16 (6)	45 (23)	702 (14)
6	(33)	30 (26)	36 (32)	8 (62)	88 (41)	3 (27)	68 (32)	1 (33)	108 (39)	85 (30)	68 (35)	1,591 (32)
7	(14)	29 (25)	19 (17)	3 (23)	29 (14)	2 (18)	36 (17)	0	40 (14)	15 (5)	40 (20)	677 (14)
8	(14)	16 (14)	18 (16)	1 (8)	32 (15)	2 (18)	29 (14)	0	38 (14)	22 (8)	24 (12)	673 (14)
9	(1)	4 (3)	0	0	2 (1)	0	4 (2)	0	5 (2)	2 (1)	4 (2)	62 (1)

a. Key to numbers 1 to 9:
1 Have no plans
2 Will go to school; type undecided
3 Will attend college next year
4 Will attend college - not right away
5 Will attend vocational school
6 Need outside financial help for school
7 Will find a job
8 Will enlist in military service
9 Member of military reserve now

b. Parenthesis indicate percentage.

c. The percentage figures given in Column 1 are the percentage of the entire senior class, both Negro and non-Negro, who responded to the individual item.

d. The last two columns on the right hand side of the page give the totals and in parenthesis the percentage of total Negro and total non-Negro students of the entire senior class who responded to the item.

From these responses, obtained from questionnaires completed in whole or in part by all seniors, we make these observations:

1) The proportions of Negro and non-Negro seniors who indicate that they have no post-graduation plans do not significantly differ.

2) While 54% of all seniors indicate they will attend college next year, only 37% of the Negro members of the senior class do so. Among Negro seniors from grade schools which were 25% or more Negro, only 28% indicate they have plans to attend college next year while non-Negroes from the same grade schools were below the all-class average by only 4 percentage points.

3) The percentages of Negro seniors indicating plans to attend a vocational school is higher than the all-class average (8 to 11%).

4) The numbers of Negroes who checked "finding a job" as their immediate post-graduation plan was again higher than the all-class average (6-10%).

Job Seeking

Differences between seniors of the two racial classifications on taking action to get a job are also of interest.

Table 21

Senior Plans on How to Get a Job, 1964, Selected Schools

	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White High Inc.	Total Seniors		
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N/N	N	N/N	N/N
	117	114	13	214	11	213	3	276	282	196	4,900	5,096
a) Register with OES	57 (49)	36 (32)	5 (38)	59 (28)	3 (27)	45 (21)	1 (33)	66 (24)	38 (13)	89 (45)	1,144 (23)	(24)
b) Vocational Aptitude test wanted	40 (34)	25 (22)	2 (15)	49 (23)	2 (18)	47 (22)	0	66 (24)	33 (12)	60 (31)	1,044 (21)	(22)
c) Civ. Serv. Exam. wanted	25 (21)	10 (9)	3 (23)	22 (10)	1	22 (11)	0	29 (6)	16			
d) Wants perm. job	34 (29)	21 (18)	3 (23)	30 (14)	1 (9)	37 (17)	1 (33)	54 (20)	26 (9)			
e) Took GATB	20 (17)	16 (14)	1 (8)	38 (18)	5 (45)	38 (18)	0	36 (13)	14 (5)	36 (18)	674 (14)	(14)

From Table 21 we make these observations:

1) The numbers and percentages of Negroes who indicate they wished to register with the Oregon State Employment Service were significantly greater than those of the non-Negro students. More than 40% of the Negro seniors indicated a desire to register while slightly less than 25% of the non-Negro seniors wanted to register.

2) The percentages of Negro seniors who wanted to take vocational aptitude tests were also significantly higher than for non-Negro seniors. However, in both instances only about half those who said they wanted to take the tests actually took the General Aptitude Test Battery.

3) The percentage of Negro seniors who said they wanted to take the Civil Service examination was also

higher than it was for non-Negroes.

4) The percentages of Negroes who said they wanted a permanent job exceeded that of non-Negroes by about the same proportion regardless of the kind of grade school of origin.

Employability

The General Aptitude Test Battery, administered by the State Employment Service, is designed to identify occupation groups within which one taking the test has aptitudes. The test results show the number of "occupational patterns" for which one has aptitudes, and identifies each of these patterns. How did those 1964 seniors who took the GATB fare?

Table 22

Occupational Patterns Achieved on GATB by 1964 Seniors, Selected Schools

Patterns Achieved	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White High Inc.	Total Seniors		
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N/N	N	N/N	N/N
1 - 5	2 (10)	2 (13)	0	6 (16)	1 (20)	2 (5)	0	3 (8)	1 (7)	8 (22)	48 (7)	(8)
6 - 10	3 (15)	0	0	0	3 (75)	3 (8)	0	0	0	8 (22)	38 (4)	(5)
11 - 15	5 (25)	2 (13)	1 (100)	3 (8)	0	4 (11)	0	5 (14)	1 (7)	8 (22)	61 (9)	(10)
16 - 20	6 (30)	0	0	4 (11)	0	3 (8)	0	5 (14)	1 (7)	6 (17)	96 (14)	(14)
21 - 25	3 (15)	5 (31)	0	11 (29)	1 (25)	6 (16)	0	7 (19)	7 (50)	5 (14)	169 (25)	(24)
26 - 30	1 (5)	4 (25)	0	7 (18)	0	13 (34)	0	11 (31)	2 (14)	1 (3)	160 (24)	(23)
31 - 35	0	3 (19)	0	7 (18)	0	7 (18)	0	5 (14)	2 (14)	0	112 (17)	(16)
Totals	20	16	1	38	5	38	0	36	14	36	674	
										710		

Parenthesis indicate percentage of group which took GATB.

Table 23

Occupational Patterns Achieved on GATB by 1964 Negro Seniors
Scattered Originating Grade Schools

High School Program:	Academic	Vocational	General Education
Patterns achieved:			
1 - 5		2	3
6 - 10		1	1
11 - 15	1		1
16 - 20			
21 - 25		1	
26 - 30			
31 - 35			

It is true that the number of test patterns achieved is not a strict proof of an individual's ability to secure a job. But still, in general, it is true that the more test patterns achieved, the more employable skills for which a person has aptitude, and the more "employable" he is.

Of the Negro seniors who took the GATB, 33% achieved 16 or more test patterns out of the 35 patterns possible. Of the non-Negro seniors who took the test, 80% scored 16 or more patterns.

Life Aims of Seniors

Later we shall examine the life aims which all seniors perceive for themselves as well as other factors which affect aspiration. First, however, we will examine the life aim of the seniors involved in our 21-school sample to see if there are observations which can be made about the effect of grade school racial makeup or socio-economic level upon the life aim of the students.

Table 24

Life's Aim of 1964 Seniors, Selected Schools

Type Job of Life's Aim[a]	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White High Inc.		Total This Aim		Total
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	
Professional	39	59	3	119	3	84	1	140	-	171	46	573	619
Per cent of group	(45)	(65)	(43)	(71)	(50)	(54)	(100)	(64)		(83)	(45)	(69)	(66)
Clerical	20	18	3	19	1	31	-	39	-	17	24	124	148
Per cent of group	(23)	(20)	(43)	(11)	(17)	(20)		(18)		(8)	(24)	(15)	(16)
Personal Services	10	9	1	12	2	20	-	15	-	7	13	63	76
Per cent of group	(12)	(10)	(14)	(7)	(33)	(13)		(7)		(3)	(13)	(7)	(8)
Fish-Ag-Forestry	2	1	-	4	-	4	-	6	-	2	2	17	19
Per cent of group	(2)	(1)		(3)		(3)		(1)		(1)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Skilled Worker	8	4	-	8	-	8	-	12	-	6	8	38	46
Per cent of group	(9)	(4)		(5)		(5)		(5)		(3)	(8)	(5)	(5)
Semi-skilled Worker	4	-	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	1	4	7	11
Per cent of group	(5)			(1)		(1)		(1)		(1)	(4)	(1)	(1)
Unskilled Worker	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	3	4
Per cent of group	(1)			(1)		(1)		(1)			(1)	(-)	(1)
Don't Know	3	-	-	2	-	5	-	1	-	1	3	9	12
Per cent of group	(3)			(1)		(3)		(1)		(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)
Totals	87	91	7	167	6	154	1	217	-	205	101	834	935
% Totals	(9)	(10)	(1)	(18)	(1)	(16)		(23)		(22)			

a. As defined by Dictionary of Occupational Titles.

There is little indication of any difference in life aim between Negro and non-Negro students. Both most often select occupations which are professional, clerical, personal service or skilled worker in classification, with heavy emphasis on the first. There is some differential based on the income level served by the school; the higher the school "income" level, the higher the aspiration. Somewhat the same relationship can be seen in the occupation level of fathers.

Table 25

Father's Occupations of 1964 Seniors, Selected Schools

Father's Job[a]	Schools 25%+ Negro		Schools 5%-24% Negro		Schools White Low Inc.		Schools White Mid. Inc.		Schools White High Inc.		Total This Aim		Total
	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	N	N/N	
Professional	4	27	-	41	-	35	-	59	-	138	4	300	304
Per cent of group	(4)	(26)		(20)		(18)		(23)		(51)	(3)	(29)	(26)
Clerical	5	22	1	33	1	27	1	47	-	62	8	191	199
Per cent of group	(5)	(21)	(7)	(16)	(11)	(14)	(33)	(18)		(23)	(6)	(18)	(17)
Personal Services	18	14	5	14	1	15	-	21	-	13	24	77	101
Per cent of group	(19)	(14)	(34)	(7)	(11)	(8)		(8)		(5)	(19)	(8)	(9)
Fish-Ag-Forestry	-	2	-	4	-	2	-	3	-	1	-	12	12
Per cent of group		(2)		(2)		(1)		(1)				(1)	(1)
Skilled Worker	26	16	2	50	1	51	-	85	-	34	29	236	265
Per cent of group	(27)	(16)	(13)	(25)	(11)	(26)		(33)		(12)	(23)	(23)	(23)
Semi-skilled Worker	17	12	2	33	2	36	1	24	-	10	22	115	137
Per cent of group	(17)	(12)	(13)	(16)	(22)	(18)	(33)	(9)		(4)	(18)	(1)	(12)
Unskilled Worker	13	7	2	23	2	17	-	13	-	6	17	66	83
Per cent of group	(13)	(7)	(13)	(11)	(22)	(8)		(5)		(2)	(14)	(6)	(7)
Unemployed	4	2	2	1	-	8	-	5	-	4	6	20	26
Per cent of group	(4)	(2)	(13)	(1)		(4)		(2)		(1)	(5)	(2)	(2)
Don't Know	11	-	1	5	2	6	1	2	-	5	15	18	33
Per cent of group	(11)		(7)	(2)	(23)	(3)	(33)	(1)		(2)	(12)	(2)	(3)
Totals	98	102	15	204	9	197	3	259	-	273	125	1035	1160
% Totals	(9)	(9)	(1)	(18)	(1)	(17)		(22)		(23)			

a. As defined by Dictionary of Occupational Titles.

It should be pointed out regarding Tables 24 and 25 that not all seniors responded to all questions on their senior questionnaires. Thus, the percentages in these tables are percentages of those who did respond to the particular question in the pertinent category.

Criteria for All Seniors

The preceding tables dealt with seniors from our 21-grade school sample and the 51 Negro seniors from varied area grade schools. Table 26 examines the entire senior class, both as a class and as Negro and non-Negro components of that class. Again, not all seniors responded to all questions in the senior questionnaire although all seniors are included in the category "high school program". However, in this case percentage figures are percentages of the entire senior class of the entire Negro or non-Negro component of that class, instead of percentages of those who responded.

Table 26

Classifications of All Portland Seniors, Class of 1964

()	Per Cent of Negro or non-Negro group
(())	Per Cent of senior class

Classification	Negro			Non-Negro			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
High School Program:							
Special Achievement	16	16	32	33	34	67	
	(8)	(8)	(16)	(.6)	(.6)	(1)	((2))
Enriched	1	2	3	233	208	441	
	(.5)	(1)	(2)	(5)	(4)	(9)	((9))
Academic	19	14	33	1010	925	1935	
	(10)	(7)	(17)	(21)	(19)	(39)	((39))
Vocational	19	26	45	293	672	965	
	(10)	(13)	(23)	(6)	(14)	(20)	((20))
General Education	47	31	78	781	396	1177	
	(24)	(16)	(40)	(16)	(8)	(24)	((25))
Acadmic-Vocational	3	2	5	47	268	315	
	(2)	(1)	(3)	(.9)	(5)	(6)	((6))
Post-Graduation Plans:							
1. Have no plans	3	2	5	94	69	163	
	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(3)	((3))
2. Will go to school -- type undecided	17	10	27	390	289	679	
	(9)	(5)	(14)	(8)	(6)	(14)	((14))

Table 26--Continued

Classification	Negro			Non-Negro			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
3. Will attend college next year	38	35	73	1360	1323	2683	
	(19)	(18)	(37)	(28)	(27)	(55)	((54))
4. Will attend college -- not right away	6	0	6	129	64	193	
	(3)		(3)	(3)	(1)	(4)	((4))
5. Will attend vocational school	17	28	45	206	496	702	
	(9)	(14)	(23)	(4)	(10)	(14)	((15))
6. Need outside financial help for school	36	16	35	810	781	1591	
	(18)	(16)	(35)	(17)	(16)	(32)	((33))
7. Will find a job	22	18	40	236	441	677	
	(11)	(9)	(20)	(5)	(9)	(14)	((14))
8. Will enlist in military service	23	1	24	642	31	673	
	(12)	(.5)	(12)	(13)	(.6)	(14)	((14))
9. Member of military reserve now	2	0	2	62	0	62	
	(1)		(1)	(1)		(1)	((1))
Wish to register with OSES	41	48	89	502	642	1144	
	(21)	(24)	(45)	(10)	(13)	(23)	((24))
Want vocational aptitude test	28	32	60	507	537	1044	
	(14)	(16)	(31)	(10)	(11)	(21)	((22))
Took GATB	17	19	36	276	399	675	
	(9)	(10)	(18)	(6)	(8)	(14)	((14))
Job Considers Self Fit For:[a]							
1. Professional-managerial	0	2	2	45	24	69	
		(1)	(1)	(.9)	(.4)	(1)	((1))
2. Clerical-sales	17	23	40	90	498	588	
	(9)	(12)	(20)	(2)	(1)	(12)	((12))
3. Service	8	7	15	60	78	138	
	(4)	(4)	(8)	(1)	(2)	(3)	((3))

Table 26--Continued

Classification	Negro			Non-Negro			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
4. Agricultural-fishing-forestry	1	0	1	36	0	36	
	(.5)		(.5)	(.7)		(.7)	((.7))
5. Skilled	2	0	2	63	0	63	
	(1)		(1)	(1)		(1)	((1))
6. Semi-skilled	7	0	7	95	2	97	
	(4)		(4)	(2)		(2)	((2))
7. Unskilled	0	0	0	23	1	24	
				(.4)		(.4)	((.4))
Highest Type of Job Held:[a]							
1. Professional-managerial	0	1	1	64	63	127	
		(.5)	(.5)	(1)	(1)	(3)	((3))
2. Clerical-sales	11	20	31	452	653	1105	
	(6)	(10)	(16)	(9)	(13)	(23)	((22))
3. Service	27	16	43	399	631	1030	
	(14)	(8)	(22)	(8)	(13)	(21)	((21))
4. Agricultural-fishing-forestry	8	1	9	244	51	295	
	(4)	(.5)	(5)	(5)	(1)	(6)	((6))
5. Skilled	0	0	0	68	4	72	
				(1)		(1)	((1))
6. Semi-skilled	6	0	6	295	10	305	
	(3)		(3)	(6)	(.2)	(6)	((6))
7. Unskilled	5	0	5	168	19	187	
	(3)		(3)	(3)	(.3)	(4)	((4))
8. Don't know	0	0	0	2	1	3	
				-	-	-	

Table 26--Continued

Classification	Negro			Non-Negro			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Life's Aims:[a]							
1. Professional-managerial	33	32	65	1215	1164	2379	
	(17)	(16)	(33)	(25)	(24)	(49)	((48))
2. Clerical-sales	9	22	31	83	551	634	
	(5)	(11)	(16)	(2)	(11)	(13)	((13))
3. Service	5	11	16	93	231	324	
	(3)	(6)	(8)	(2)	(5)	(7)	((7))
4. Agricultural-fishing-forestry	2	0	2	44	9	53	
	(1)		(1)	(.8)		(1)	((1))
5. Skilled	9	1	10	156	6	162	
	(5)	(.5)	(5)	(3)		(3)	((3))
6. Semi-skilled	6	0	6	53	1	54	
	(3)		(3)	(1)		(1)	((1))
7. Unskilled	0	1	1	40	14	54	
		(.5)	(.5)	(.8)	(.2)	(1)	((1))
8. Don't know	4	2	3	1	28	29	
	(2)	(1)	(3)	-	(.5)	(.5)	((.6))
Father's Job:[a]							
1. Professional-managerial	5	5	10	674	734	1408	
	(3)	(3)	(5)	(14)	(15)	(29)	((28))
2. Clerical-sales	3	6	9	418	401	819	
	(2)	(3)	(5)	(9)	(8)	(17)	((16))
3. Service	18	21	39	151	142	293	
	(9)	(11)	(20)	(3)	(3)	(6)	((7))
4. Agricultural-fishing-forestry	0	0	0	27	30	57	
				(.5)	(.6)	(1)	((1))

Table 26--Continued

Classification	Negro			Non-Negro			Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	
5. Skilled	23	12	35	601	595	1196	
	(12)	(6)	(18)	(12)	(12)	(24)	((24))
6. Semi-skilled	19	10	29	232	248	480	
	(10)	(5)	(15)	(5)	(5)	(10)	((10))
7. Unskilled	10	12	22	127	119	246	
	(5)	(6)	(11)	(3)	(2)	(5)	((5))
8. Unemployed	5	5	10	29	51	80	
	(3)	(3)	(5)	(.5)	(1)	(2)	((2))
9. Don't know	9	10	19	32	47	79	
	(5)	(5)	(10)	(.6)	(.9)	(2)	((2))
Mother's Job:[a]							
1. Professional-managerial	15	3	18	207	200	407	
	(8)	(2)	(9)	(4)	(4)	(8)	((8))
2. Clerical-sales	8	3	11	523	600	1123	
	(4)	(2)	(6)	(11)	(12)	(23)	((22))
3. Service	15	18	33	141	169	310	
	(8)	(9)	(17)	(3)	(3)	(6)	((7))
4. Agricultural-fishing-forestry	0	0	0	4	3	7	
				-	-	(.1)	((.1))
5. Skilled	0	0	0	34	42	76	
				(.6)	(.8)	(2)	((1))
6. Semi-skilled	5	2	7	25	21	46	
	(3)	(1)	(4)	(.5)	(.4)	(.9)	((1))
7. Unskilled	49	58	107	1342	1289	2631	
	(25)	(30)	(55)	(27)	(26)	(54)	((54))
8. Unemployed	1	0	1	3	3	6	
	(.5)		(.5)	-	-	(.1)	((.1))
9. Don't know	2	1	3	13	22	35	
	(1)	(.5)	(2)	(.2)	(.4)	(.7)	((.7))

[a] As defined by Dictionary of Occupational Titles.

Conclusions on Portland Youth Qualifications

As we previously stated, there are but a few generalizations which we feel can justifiably be drawn from the study of Negro and non-Negro seniors in the graduating class of 1964 as presented in this part of our Report. Assuming that the performance of 1964 seniors is typical, we can state these generalizations as follows:

1) Negro 1964 seniors in Portland's schools as a group are not equal to the non-Negro 1964 seniors as a group when compared on the basis of:

a) Distribution throughout the various programs of the schools.
b) General aptitude, as determined by standardized tests.
c) General achievement, as indicated by grade point averages.
d) Employability, as indicated by occupational aptitude patterns achieved on vocational aptitude tests, as well as by the other criteria above.

2) Negro seniors originating from grade schools in which more than 25% of the student body are Negroes, when compared with Negro seniors originating from other grade schools:

a) Differ significantly when compared on the basis of distribtuion throughout various educational programs of the schools. Negroes from grade schools that are 25% or more Negro have a wholly disproportionate number of students in the special achievement (mentally retarded) program. (The same holds true for Negro seniors originating in white low income schools.)

b) Differ somewhat when compared on the basis of achievement. The Negro students who came from various grade schools whose enrollment was predominantly white achieved slightly better scores on standardized tests and significantly better grade point averages than did the Negro students from grade schools 25% or more Negro.

3) Non-Negro seniors originating from grade schools in which more than 25% of the student body are Negroes do not differ significantly from non-Negro seniors originating from grade schools of comparable family income level. The performance of the non-Negro seniors seems to rise as the family income level represented in the grade school rises.

PART X

SPECIAL OBSERVATIONS ON SCHOOL PROGRAMS AND PROBLEMS

PART X

SPECIAL OBSERVATIONS ON SCHOOL PROGRAMS AND PROBLEMS

Before examining remedies for dealing with disadvantaged children and racial isolation we will make a number of general observations on school problems.

Incomplete Education

There are indications that significant numbers of youths in Portland do not complete their high school education.

A great deal has been written nationally about the problem of the high school drop-out, the boy or girl who is not motivated to complete his high school education. Despite the breadth of the problem, little has been offered as a remedy. In Portland and in Oregon there has been insufficient research to measure the extent of the problem. The research that has been attempted is inconclusive.

The first difficulty is defining "drop-out". The second problem is accumulating data from records which do not lend themselves to use with any assurance of accuracy.

The Oregon State Department of Education has measured the "holding power" of all high schools in Oregon beginning with the youngsters who entered the ninth grade in the fall of 1948. For all practical purposes a drop-out in this study was a boy or girl who entered the ninth grade in any Oregon high school and did not graduate from some Oregon high school four years later.[1] These figures show that for the high school senior classes of 1952 through 1955, 34% of those who entered as freshmen did not graduate within a four year period. For the high school classes of 1956 through 1959, the drop-out rate was 29%. For the class of 1960 it was 27%, for 1961 it was 24%, and for 1962 it was 22%. This indicates a gradual state-wide improvement.

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[1] State Department of Education, State-Wide Enrollment Data -- A Measure of Holding Power (Salem: State Department of Education, 1963). Mimeographed.

Attempting to correlate these state-wide figures (22%-34%) to the experience in Portland -- or any single locality of the state -- is difficult, first because the factor of transiency from and to a single school district is more distorting than in a state-wide system, and second because studies here have used different definitions of "drop-out". Often a "drop-out rate" has been established by using non-transfer withdrawal figures. This is inexact in not including children who withdrew to attend a school in another school system but who may never have entered the other school system, and it does not include those who simply did not return to school in the fall after summer vacation.

With the use of withdrawal figures, however, the Portland high school drop-out rate is made to appear far more favorable than the state-wide experience. For the eight school years between the fall of 1954 and the spring of 1961, for instance, the high school drop-out rate for all 12 Portland high schools averaged 5% of all children enrolled, ranging from 3% at Wilson to 9% at Girls Poly.[2]

Table 27

Non-Transfer Withdrawals in Portland High Schools, 1954-1961

School	Withdrawals	Total Enrollment	Withdrawal Rate
Benson	436	11,935	3.7%
Cleveland	461	11,103	4.2
Franklin	800	15,579	5.1
Girls Poly	313	3,441	9.1
Grant	523	17,887	2.9
Jefferson	1,003	15,525	6.5
Lincoln	704	9,401	7.5
Madison (1957-1961)	461	9,441	4.9
Marshall (1960-61)	65	1,256	5.2
Roosevelt	653	10,410	6.3
Washington	718	10,056	7.1
Wilson (1956-61)	214	7,742	2.8
Totals	6,381	123,776	5.2%

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[2] Research Memorandum, "Portland High School Drop-Outs," (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, May 6, 1964), p. 71.

Some administrators question these figures, as do researchers who developed them. It seems to administrators that more than 7% of all students who at one time or another attend Washington High School, for instance, leave school without graduating or transferring to another school, and that the city-wide figure of slightly more than 5% is too low.[3]

A special drop-out report of the Portland schools' Department of Research and Measurements in 1962 includes this statement:

> ". . .a study of the relationship between school census age groups and membership in public, private, and parochial schools implies but does not prove that drop-out of perhaps 13-15% occurs in all schools in the Portland area."[4]

Whether the Portland drop-out figure is 13% or more nearly approaches the state-wide, more accurately gathered figures of 25% or so, we have a serious problem. A minimum of one out of seven of our youngsters is not even going through the rather easily available formality of collecting a high school diploma with which to try to certify his employability. It has come to be accepted as fact -- we have not tested the assertion -- that very few if any jobs of dignity remain which do not require a high school education.

The Portland School District in the past year has attempted to discover why a youngster drops out of high school. Concentrating on the Jefferson and Washington High School attendance areas, counselors located and interviewed 286 school age or near-school age drop-outs, of whom 119 were Negro. Researchers came to the conclusion that the drop-out's stated reason for leaving school cannot be trusted and that there is no single reason in any given case. Drop-outs are caused by multiple factors, an upset family situation, low grades, trouble with a girl or boy friend, absence of friends from school, being far behind in school work, and most of all and most frequently: a strong personal feeling of failure.[5]

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Department of Research and Measurements, High School Drop-Out (Portland: Portland Public Schools, 1962), p. 6. Mimeographed.

The usual drop-out feels that he is a failure and has felt that way for a length of time while still in school. It is apparent that the school has failed to reach him and to motivate him, regardless of the level of his ability.

In that regard the experience of a psychologist in conducting three lengthy interviews with a carefully selected sample of 150 Jefferson High School students including 27 Negroes is of interest. He found the attitude of Negroes toward school not much different from that of white students, although Negroes are more anxious about jobs, and this is especially true of Negro seniors. Almost all recognize the importance of a high school diploma as a job prerequisite, but many are unable to see any connection between the school program's content and preparation for getting a job. Those who see a connection between what was taught in school and what is needed to get a job or launch a career are generally the college-bound. Many of the interviewees identified themselves as "hoods" who regarded doing good school work as not respectable; these youngsters reject everything the school is supposed to represent and are drawn to youngsters with similar views and these reinforce each other's attitudes. Those of a higher socio-economic background perceive a distant goal and work for it without immediate reward, while youngsters of a lower socio-economic background appear to need immediate rewards for their work in order to feel successful; the interviewer speculates that this is a learned reaction.

Most significantly, the interviewer believes many of the high school youngsters with whom he held up to three hours of discussion were desperate for help; some said that the interviews were the first time anyone at the school had cared enough to talk to them about their problems and ask them what they thought about the school.[6]

The situation with the child who is a drop-out is obviously a serious one, and one for which there appears to be no remedy short of more concentration of resources on individual cases in order to create motivation. This does not mean concentration of school resources alone, for the problems which have been described here are to a great extent problems which the child brings to school with him.

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[5] Minutes of the meeting, January 29, 1964, Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, p. 25.

[6] _Ibid._, pp. 25-26.

Programs for the Poorly Motivated

> There is a need for an educational program which will motivate and equip with job qualifications those students who are not college bound or who are now physical or psychological drop-outs.

We have seen that 13% upwards of those who begin a high school education in Portland drop out of school before receiving a secondary school diploma. The drop-out problem is compounded by many students who stay in school without any clear purpose or course of study, and who may even graduate without having acquired learning tools with which to become productive citizens. We have seen that many students have no goal and see no value in the high school program, and there has been speculation that this is particularly true for those from a low socio-economic environment and for Negroes. These might be termed the psychological drop-outs. They are the children who have later difficulty fitting into an economy with shrinking employment possibilities for the non-specialist and the educationally ill-equipped.

The school problem is to motivate these youngsters and to provide for them a program of study which they perceive as of value to post-high school employment. The program must seem of immediate practical value for those students who have difficulty perceiving distant rewards for immediate achievement, those who have difficulty with abstractions and relationships; at the same time it must furnish such students with the more general learning tools vital to constructive citizenship, such as adequate proficiency in reading, writing and calculating.

In the 1950's Portland examined its school programs for college bound and gifted children and spent a great deal of energy and money improving its educational program as it affected these children. The result as we see it has been to make Portland's college preparatory curriculum and college prep student performance among the best of public school systems. But only 58% of Portland high school seniors declare an intention to attend college immediately or eventually,[7] and based on statistics for Multnomah County, 53% of the graduates will have attended a four-year degree granting institution during the eight-year period following high school graduation and only 25% will complete four years of college during that time.[8]

In this regard, the study programs of the graduating class of 1964 from Portland's 12 high schools is of interest. Some 54% of the class was taking a high school program which can be said to have been college preparatory. The remainder fell in the mentally retarded classes, the "vocational" program which offered opportunities for development of secretarial or minimal shop skills, or in the "general education" program which in its approach did not differ from the program provided those who were college bound.[9]

In reality, except for the mentally retarded program, there are no "programs" as such in the Portland school system -- there is only one program with certain options; the core courses remain the same for all.

We must devote particular attention to the segment of the student body who are not college bound -- who must leave high school either with job qualifications or with sufficient learning tools to enable them to acquire special job qualifications through subsequent training. This is the portion of the student body -- actually half of the student body or more -- which presents the most difficult motivational problems, and which if unmotivated present the most serious social problems to the community in later years.

From all this we argue the need for occupation-oriented programs of general education which in their approach would differ from the programs provided for the college bound students. The new programs would begin in the concrete, the practical order, and proceed to develop in the student the basic learning tools which a productive citizen needs to function in our society.

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[7] See Table 20.

[8] State Department of Education, Second Follow-Up Study of Oregon's 1954 High School Graduates, (Salem: State Department of Education, 1963), pp. 4-5. Mimeographed.

[9] See Table 9.

We use the words "occupation-oriented programs of general education" in order to distinguish our suggested program from traditional vocational or technical programs. The difference lies in the objective and the emphasis which is placed. In the traditional vocational program the objective is to train the student in a particular skill; in the proposed occupation-oriented program of general education the emphasis is placed on providing the student with a general education. Although the general nature of "shop" courses might be the same in both programs, in the occupation-oriented general education program shopwork would be the point of departure for developing in the student an ability to read, write, calculate, reason, discuss. These would be the skills primarily intended; the specific skills of the shop would be considered by-products.

In recent months there have been a number of educators speaking to this subject. We cite as typical, and as epitomizing the rationale behind our thinking, the remarks by Dr. Lawrence H. Chamberlain, vice president of Columbia University, in a convocation address at the 75th anniversary of the University of Idaho on January 30, 1964:

> "Because a person has no particular interest in ideas does not indicate inferior intelligence. Some students have no feel for abstraction; they are interested in things rather than ideas; sometimes it is people that catch and hold their attention. For such students, courses which are essentially abstract or theoretical, such as mathematics, philosophy or history, where offered as ends in themselves have little appeal. When, however, the student realizes that a firm grasp of such subject matter is absolutely essential to the achievement of his chosen objective he can and will employ his mental resources sufficiently to gain mastery. What he would not do as an end in itself, he will do as a means toward a cherished end.
>
> "For students of this type the conventional liberal arts curriculum needs modification. It must be made subsidiary, facilitative -- a means toward some desired end rather than an end in itself. When an individual

> has an interest in a subject -- no matter how 'practical,' 'technical' or 'unintellectual' it may be -- that interest should be nurtured and exploited; employed as a strategic leverage for his liberal education. By finding and building on each individual's interest it may be possible to develop within him a sense of urgency to improve himself. The question is whether academic faculties possess the imagination and the 'liberalism' to design such programs."[10]

At present the strictly "vocational" courses offered in Portland's high schools are limited. They are:

1) Industrial arts program: wood shop, metal shop, electronics and drafting. There is also an eighth grade general industrial arts course. Special courses in various shops are offered in comprehensive high schools and at Benson. The electronics shop courses are not offered at Washington and Lincoln.

2) Distributive education program: primarily involving merchandising training and usually coupled with an out-of-school job, offered in all high schools except Benson, Lincoln and Wilson. In 1963-64, 296 students enrolled, of whom only 7 were Negroes. The increasing selectivity of this program may be screening out students who would most profit from it.

3) Diversified occupation program: a so far limited program in the Portland schools, permitting students to work at various occupations outside the business education fields on a part-time basis under school supervision.

4) Commercial class: typing, shorthand, bookkeeping, etc., of primary interest to girls.[11]

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[10] Cf also, Man, Education and Work, by Grant Venn, an excellent study of the problems of post-secondary vocational and technical education made under the auspices of the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C. and available from their offices at 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 36, D.C.

[11] Research Memorandum, "A List of Programs Offered in Portland's High Schools," (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, December 9, 1963), pp. 14-22.

With these exceptions Portland's "comprehensive" high school programs are designed for the academic student who is college bound. The shift toward enriched and academically talented emphasis has reached a point, in fact, that the Portland schools' one-time vocation-oriented high school, Benson, has become largely a pre-technical college preparatory school with admission standards which reject below average students, among whom fall the bulk of the umotivated, disadvantaged students.

The present "general education" student, which included 25% of the class of 1964,[12] takes essentially the same course approach as the college bound student except that he has taken no foreign languages or advanced mathematics. He has been prepared neither for college nor a vocation, nor has he in many cases acquired the learning tools and habits which will enable him to easily qualify for a vocation in later training. These students are often unmotivated and dislike school.

In this regard, an opinionnaire prepared by the Industrial Arts Department of the Portland Public Schools in 1962, sampling the reactions of all industrial arts students, furnishes some indications which merit consideration. While 51% of the students responding indicated that they liked school only "to some degree," 94% of them said that they would not quit school now even if they could. Some 75% of the students said they were not taking the industrial arts course to help prepare them for post-high school training or further non-college education; only 43% looked upon the shop courses as a means of helping them get a job after high school; and only 50% felt that the purpose of the shop courses should be to help prepare them to enter skilled or technical occupations. Some 54% stated they learned about job qualifications and opportunities in shop classes "to some degree" and 50% felt that shop work encouraged them to be creative.[13] From this we conclude:

1) The students responding recognized some value

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[12] See Table 9.

[13] Research Memorandum, "Industrial Arts Department Opinionnaire" (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, January 17, 1964), pp. 28-52.

to a high school education, even though they liked school only "to some degree".

2) At least in the minds of the students, the questions can be raised as to the validity of shop courses and strictly vocational training as a means of preparation for future work.

3) The question needs to be raised regarding the influence of these "shop courses" in keeping the students in school, since whereas half did not like school, almost all said they would not quit school having found something in school -- shop -- which they enjoyed.

During our study we came upon the following expressions of opinion which indicate the importance of "occupation-oriented programs of general education" rather than vocational programs in the traditional sense:

1) Representatives of business, industry and unions indicated in interviews that they did not consider the high school responsible for producing fully trained potential employees. They indicated that what they expected was a person with basic intellectual aptitudes and achievements; good motivation; a willingness to apply himself; native skills and manual dexterity; personality traits and the commonly acceptable social graces and the ability to get along with others in particular; moral characteristics such as dependability, honesty and a willingness to work. They felt that it was sufficient if the schools produced a youth with ability in using the tools of learning -- one who in fact had learned in a fundamental way at least, how to learn. Post-high school training in technical schools, special trade schools, in-service training programs and the like should, they felt, produce the finished, trained or qualified person.

2) Discussion with representatives of the same groups pointed out the rapidity with which modern technological advancements make certain skills obsolete. Hence, they felt that the role of the high school would best serve society if it were to make the student trainable, rather than if it were to train him for a particular skill.

A point which we feel is of great importance: Programs or methods to provide general education for the non-college bound must be given prestige similar to that given programs for the gifted or the college bound. If the programs of general education are regarded simply as another dumping ground for the less able students, it is most unlikely they will achieve any higher purpose.

The responsibility of School District No. 1 for occupation-oriented programs of general education for the non-college bound does not end at the high school level. Care must be taken that the Community College's rapidly evolving curriculum places sufficient emphasis on vocational and occupational programs. It is in this field and not in lower division college work that the greatest need is now found in Portland.

In summary, we believe that if the general education program is to prepare adequately those students who will enter employment shortly after graduation, it must be improved, emphasized, made respectable and desirable. We do not believe that the present program in the Portland high schools, directed as it is toward the college bound student, is sufficient for the occupation-bound student.

Special Achievement Program

There is a need for re-evaluation of the special achievement program for those identified as mentally retarded.

The special achievement program in Portland's public schools (see Part VIII of this Report) is designed for youngsters identified as mentally retarded but who are considered educable. It operates under conditions set down by state law and its methods of identifying mentally retarded children are presumably as exact as group and individual aptitude tests and the subjective judgments of trained people allow.

On the basis of our examination of the statistics of this program, and of our interviews with personnel responsible for its operations here and interviews with those responsible for similar programs elsewhere, we are extremely disturbed about the program in Portland.

One area of our concern is local policies which appear to leave about a third of those identified as mentally retarded in regular elementary classes. School authorities say they cannot transfer some MR needy pupils to schools where MR classrooms are available because to do so would place too many MR cases in one building, resulting in harm to both the pupil and the school. For example, in 1963-64 there were two MR classes at Eliot and Holladay Schools but none at Boise because of severe crowding; some but not all Boise MR children were transferred to Eliot; to transfer more Boise pupils to Eliot and Holladay MR classes would, it is asserted, have jeopardized a policy of integrating special achievement pupils with normal pupils as much as possible and, furthermore, inasmuch as minority children are most often referred for MR classes this would result in a greater concentration of Negroes being placed in one school.[14] While concentrations of MR classes in a school may be undesirable, the alternative is leaving large numbers of eligible pupils in regular classrooms where their presence may deter normal children's achievement.

An area of greater concern to us is the seeming inability of Portland children once identified as mentally retarded to improve and resume a regular curriculum. If one assumes complete accuracy of retardation diagnosis this would be acceptable, but such an assumption is difficult to make. When a child is classified MR in elementary school he is almost always classified as MR when he enters high school and remains so through his high school career. Special achievement classes do not increase the intellectual capacity of a student, nor can the program overcome social deprivation. The number of children transferred out of the MR program annually amounts to only three or four cases and those who are returned to the normal classroom were usually borderline cases in the original diagnosis of MR.[15]

If students are placed in the program because present measuring devices are not sophisticated to the extent that they can distinguish between mental and environmental handicaps -- and on the basis of statistics to be discussed below we are forced to the conclusion that this is the case -- then we are relegating such culturally deprived students to a type of adjustment training which cannot prepare them to compete successfully in the mainstream of society. They become locked in a program that results in cumulative lowered expectancy levels and an inferior self-image because it does not compensate for deficiencies which may be at least partially responsible for the students being classified as retarded. The fact that only a handful of these students are ever returned to the regular classrooms dramatically points out that once placed in the mentally retarded program, for whatever reason, a student is effectively prevented from ever becoming competitive.[16]

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[14] Taylor, Minutes of the meeting, December 3, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, loc. cit.; also, Dorothy Buedefeldt, William Plue and David Flannigan, Minutes of the meeting, March 2, 1964, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 89-93.

[15] Ibid.

Measures can be taken to overcome environmental handicaps. This could be accomplished by establishing a MR program on the elementary level designed to change the emphasis from one of training for adjustment to one that would attempt a massive increase in experiential opportunities. Teachers could be assigned who believe that these students may not be mentally handicapped and that they can learn if teachers and administrators have a change of attitude.[17]

This brings us to our greatest area of concern with the Portland special achievement program. When we examine the program's actual operation in the high schools we find that statistics cry out for reassessment of the program. This is especially true with regard to Negro students who are in MR classes in wholly disproportionate numbers.

Out of 99 members of the class of 1964 in mentally retarded classes, 32 were Negro -- almost a third of the whole -- whereas only 4% of the class (196 out of 5,096) were Negro. Whereas 1% of the non-Negro seniors were in mentally retarded classes, and 2% of the senior class as a whole were in such classes, 16% of the Negro seniors had been placed in the special achievement program.[18]

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[16] Rainwater, Minutes of the meeting, December 16, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 39. A child tends to act out the role he is given. If the role given him is that of a mentally retarded child, he acts it out.

[17] Passow, op. cit., p. 104: ". . .more significant in determining level of academic achievement are the general attitudes of teachers toward their students and the manner in which these are communicated. . .Professor Clark proposes that schools 'break through the barrier of I.Q. depression' since many ideas about the I.Q. are more relevant to assumptions about class than about education. He sees the I.Q. scores setting ceilings which serve as self-fulfilling prophecies: When a child from a deprived background is treated as if he is uneducable because he has a low test score, he becomes uneducable and the low test score is thereby reinforced. . . The two essential ingredients of successful education for these children are belief in their educability and respect for them as human beings."

The statistics on the special achievement program for all Portland high schools and all classes as reported in Table 28 are even more disquieting. These show that whereas 2% of all 24,419 Portland high school students have been placed in MR classes, 15% of the Negroes are in MR classes. A total of 34% of the children in high school MR classes is Negro. It is even more startling that the process of selecting MR students in Portland public schools has identified 212 of the city's 1,182 Negro high school students -- 18% -- as eligible for mentally retarded classes. The placement of 15% of any group in mentally retarded classes and the identification of 18% of any group as eligible for such a program not only demands rechecking of individual cases but also demands re-evaluation of the program's methods of identification. Are culturally depressed intellects being confused with inherent retardation?

The seriousness of this matter is apparent when one considers that standard methods of judging mental capacity have been seriously questioned by a host of authorities in recent years; that retardation experts in other cities have expressed amazement at the Portland statistics;[19] that true mental retardation is extremely difficult to distinguish from cultural retardation which can be overcome by appropriate educational efforts; that MR classes can be an appropriate place to dispose of a difficult motivation or discipline problem; and that in Portland's experience a child once placed in MR class has virtually no change to escape it and return to regular classes.[20]

Once more we revert to our contention that measures must be taken to overcome environmental-cultural handicaps in order to return these children to training, as opposed to adjustment, education.

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[18] See Table 9.

[19] Report of the Traveling Subcommittee, especially New York section.

[20] Minutes of the meeting, March 2, 1964, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 90, et. seq.

Table 28

Mentally Retarded Students in Portland High Schools, 1963-64[a]

High School	Enrollment	Negro Enrollment	% Negro	Eligible For MR	Negroes Eligible	% School Eligible	% Negroes Eligible	In MR Class	Negroes In MR	% MR Negro	% School In MR	% School Negro In MR	High School
Benson	1,911	79	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Benson
Cleveland	2,283	29	1	35	2	2	6	30	1	3	1	3	Cleveland
Franklin	2,262	13	1	48	1	2	2	46	1	2	2	2	Franklin
Girls Poly	514	84	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Girls Poly
Grant	3,038	181	6	56	23	2	41	53	21	40	2	12	Grant
Jefferson[b]	2,315	597	26	186	143	8	77	162	122	75	7	20	Jefferson[b]
Lincoln	1,448	32	2	44	10	3	23	33	5	15	2	16	Lincoln
Madison	2,530	9	-	26	0	1	0	24	0	0	1	0	Madison
Marshall	2,246	5	-	45	0	2	0	45	0	0	2	0	Marshall
Roosevelt	1,870	65	3	69	8	4	12	68	8	12	4	12	Roosevelt
Washington	1,472	87	6	54	25	4	46	51	25	49	3	29	Washington
Wilson	2,530	1	-	30	0	1	0	29	0	0	1	0	Wilson
Totals	24,419	1,182	5	593	212	2	36	541	183	34	2	15	

a. School enrollment figures as of September, 1963. MR eligible and class size figures as of May 20, 1964, from data collected by Committee on Race and Education from each high school, bypassing Special Education Department.

b. Twenty-two Jefferson MR students are sent to other high schools; all but one of these are Negro. These students are not included in Jefferson figures above. See Minutes of the meeting, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, March 2, 1964, p. 92.

Early Identification of Talent

> There is cause to suspect that considerable talent especially among disadvantaged children is wasted because it is not identified early enough. Area institutions of higher learning could assist in the necessary identification during early high school years.

As we have seen, approximately half Portland's public high school students are following non-academic, non-college bound programs. This half generally includes the lower achievers and contains the bulk of disadvantaged children and most Negroes in the high schools.

Many authorities have commented on the effect of poor environment and isolation upon school motivation and achievement. These findings do not need belaboring here. They confirm the position that with assistance, latent talents and abilities among these students could be developed. Obviously the senior or even the junior year of high school is too late for such stimulation to be effective.

The outcome of two scholarship programs proposed this year for Portland Negro high school students illustrates the point. One area private college and one state institution of higher education secured funds to provide special scholarships for Portland Negro high school students. Both institutions assumed the paucity of Negro high school graduates who went on to college was due to their inability to finance a college education. A representative of the state institution, after investigation, reported he found only some 20 Negro seniors in the three Portland high schools which enroll the overwhelming majority of Negro students who met the 2.0 grade point average required of entering freshmen (2.5 for the fall term of 1964), and that generally these qualifying students had their college plans already in hand. The private institution, which has significantly higher entrance requirements than the state school, found none eligible. Each institution believed some non-qualifying Negroes could be stimulated to satisfactory performance levels with adequate counseling after college matriculation, but neither school felt it could lower its entrance requirements to accommodate these special cases.

One evidence of the lack of Negro student motivation for college is the statistical tables of Part IX of this Report.

Only 11% of the Negroes in the Portland class of 1964 took the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Tests (preliminary college boards) and only 17% took the Scholastic Aptitude Tests (college boards). The taking of these tests is very important for those planning to enter college after high school graduation. At the same time our examination of these tables causes us to suspect that, on the basis of their performance on other aptitude and achievement tests, and on the basis of grade point averages, a number of Negro seniors who should be aiming for college and who should be taking the PSAT and SAT college boards are not doing so. Why this occurs is a matter of conjecture but it is obvious that they are not sufficiently motivated.

If more Negroes are to be stimulated to aim for college and to be qualified for college when they finish high school the stimulation should be applied at the lowest high school grade levels, so that by the time they are seniors they would have met college entrance requirements. The same can be said of many non-Negro students.

Our local institutions of higher learning, public and private, are cognizant of the problem and with encouragement would no doubt be willing to work with high school counselors and students at the freshman level in an attempt to encourage and develop potential academic talent which without stimulation is being dissipated.

Counseling and Guidance

> A) Insufficient attention is given to vocational counseling generally. In the assignment of vocational counselors and allocation of their time, the particular needs of a given high school student body are not given sufficient consideration.

On the basis of information we were given by Portland school authorities regarding counselors and from our own investigations,[21] it is evident that the distribution of counselors and counseling emphasis in Portland public high schools has little relationship to the type of student body found in an individual high school. The counselors are assigned according to a rather fixed quantitative formula rather than on a qualitative basis, and the emphasis is placed on academic counseling for the college bound.

Thus, at Jefferson, Roosevelt and Washington there was one college co-ordinator (counselor for the college bound) and one vocational counselor[22] -- even though the larger percentage of students from these schools generally do not go on to college.

At Marshall one of the class counselors served as vocational counselor; at Cleveland and Franklin, the college co-ordinators served as vocational counselors; at Grant the test co-ordinator served as vocational counselor.[23] Even though a larger percentage of students from these schools go on to college than at some other high schools, it is questionable how much attention is given to those who are not so inclined.

Further, because of the formula used in assigning counselors, the average number of students assigned to a counselor varies considerably. At Jefferson for example, where the need for vocational counseling for disadvantaged students is perhaps higher than in any other high school, the counselors had an average of 70.2 students per counseling period, while those at Wilson had 66.6 and those at Benson only 50.3.[24]

B) There are insufficient opportunities for vocational counselors to contact students in need

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[21] Research Memorandum, "Portland Public High Schools -- Counseling Services" and appendixes (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, March 16, 1964), pp.64-69; Minutes of the meeting, October 30, 1963, Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, pp. 15-20; Minutes of the meeting, April 8, 1964, Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, pp. 38-43.

[22] Research Memorandum, op. cit., pp. 64-69.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., p. 68.

of such counseling, particularly students with lowest motivation and therefore greatest need of such assistance.

The problem of getting the student who wants and needs counseling to take the initiative to seek out the counselor is one of the perennial problems all counselors face. The physical limitations of time make it virtually impossible for the counselor to arrange appointments for all of his counselees as frequently as they may, in his judgment, profit from his help.

This situation most seriously affects the student most in need of advice and direction, who is usually least motivated to seek it, and who, as in the case of many disadvantaged youths, believes that the school is not interested in his problems. It is obvious that adequate vocational counseling cannot be given those who most need it by waiting for them to seek it. The counseling loads would appear to make it inevitable that this is the present practice.

Therefore, we feel that there is a need to create situations in which the vocational counselors are put in contact with their counselees and given an opportunity to work closely with as many as possible on an individual basis. A regular course taught by the vocational counselor would seem to provide the best vehicle for this purpose. The distributive education course as developed by the vocational counselor at Roosevelt impressed us as an effective, practicable approach to the problem.[25] Perhaps a similar DE approach exists in other high schools of which we are not aware. However, we feel that the effectiveness of the vocational counselors could be greatly increased if such an emphasis could be developed throughout the school system.

If the suggestions made concerning the establishment of occupation-oriented programs are adopted, a vocational counseling course would logically be a part of any program.

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[25] Minutes of the meeting, April 8, 1964, Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, pp. 38-43.

C) Vocational counselors could profitably use more information on post-high school training opportunities in private vocational schools.

There are a variety of private vocational schools operating in Portland. We sent a questionnaire to all of them seeking information on the degree to which these private post-high school facilities are used by Negroes and the degree of co-operation between the private schools and the Portland school system.[26]

A total of 35 schools received the questionnaires and only 11 replied. The relatively low return does not provide a basis for general conclusions. However, the 11 replying schools indicated a total enrollment of 1,162 of whom only 28, or 2.4%, were Negroes. This is an indication that Negro usage of private school opportunities for further training is low for these schools, especially in view of the fact that a preponderance of Negro high school graduates in Portland are vocationally-oriented.

Comments from the schools which replied indicated dissatisfaction with the degree of co-operation from Portland's public schools, perhaps because the Portland schools lack information about local private vocational schools.

Vocational counselors could make use of private post-high school vocational training opportunities in counseling high school students. Undoubtedly, not all private schools are worthwhile. But legitimate ones could be a valuable reinforcement to post-high school vocational training now being developed by the Portland Community College.

D) The schools and the Oregon State Employment Service would profit from a closer working relationship.

We are not clear on the relationship between the high schools and the Oregon State Employment Service. Spokesmen for both the schools and the OSES state that the two agencies co-operate, and cite examples, but the level of contacts does not seem either high or consistent.

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[26] Research Memorandum, "Negro Uses of Portland Private Vocational Schools" (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, February 6, 1964), pp. 57-63.

The Employment Service seeks to counsel with each high school senior during the course of the school year and apparently does manage to contact, in school, many of those who are obviously not college bound. Some of these seniors are administered the General Aptitude Test Battery by the OSES, in school on school time; the GATB test results furnish information for further job counseling by Employment Service (not school) counselors. Theoretically, the schools furnish the OSES with job questionnaires filled out by all seniors, plus adequate space and time for counseling and testing; in practice we find that all seniors are not administered the questionnaire and adequate counseling time and space is not always tendered. What seems worse, the Employment Service does not furnish the schools with GATB test results which school counselors can use in their own counseling of individual students.

We detect a degree of tension between representatives of the OSES and school counselors. We do not believe either agency is particularly to blame for this. Both are understaffed in the field of youth job counseling and misunderstandings have developed, misunderstandings which both state agency and school people are anxious to eliminate.

The practices and procedures developed in the Denver, Colorado, public schools should be studied here.[27] The Colorado Employment Service administers the GATB to each ninth grader early in the school year. The basic information on test results is given to school counselors to use in helping the ninth grade student select his courses when he enters the tenth grade. In the tenth grade each child takes a course entitled "vocations" in which he studies three occupational families of his choice, after which he discusses the various families with his counselor, comparing his own GATB-revealed aptitude patterns with the requirements of the occupational families. Thereafter, in most instances, college bound students are referred to the college co-ordinator for counseling; non-college bound students are counseled by State Employment Service personnel who give help in selecting courses during the last two years in high school -- courses which will develop strong points for occupational families in which the student is most interested. Surveys indicate 78% of Denver high school graduates who go to work immediately after graduation are employed in jobs requiring the aptitude patterns identified and strengthened in the program we have described.[28]

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[27] Research Memorandum, "Use of General Aptitude Test Battery by Denver Schools," (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, December 10, 1963), pp. 23-24.

It seems clear to us that a system like that used in Denver gives each student a clear understanding of why he is in school and a clear goal toward which to work.

E) A more consistent follow up of Portland high school products after graduation would be helpful in counseling present students.

Information on what happens to Portland high school graduates when compared to their in-school records would furnish meaningful information for counseling future graduates, particularly those who are to enter the job market after high school.

Efforts to query graduates and employers have been made but the degree of response has not been satisfactory. The schools' Department of Research and Measurements attempted analysis of the classes of 1958 and 1960,[29] which contained 7,173 graduates, of whom 241 were Negroes. The response was not large, and from Negroes, only six replies were received.[30]

Since the efficacy of the efforts of the schools in preparing students for employment can be determined only by the success of the products, it seems important that every effort be made to acquire pertinent information. A greater involvement of counselors in the project might increase the number of responses and provide more significant data.

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Department of Research and Measurements, Employer Follow-Up Study of Portland High School Graduates (Portland: Portland Public Schools, 1963). Mimeographed.

[30] Research Memorandum, "Jobs Held by White and Non-White Portland High School Graduates," (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, December 3, 1963), pp. 12-13.

Job Opportunities and Motivation

> Motivation of non-college bound students, particularly of minority group members, would be improved if labor and management assisted the schools in demonstrating that jobs exist on a non-discriminatory basis.

Doubts and concerns about the future are normally part of the problems encountered during the teenage years. These doubts, particularly about employment, are more severe for Negro youth, according to witnesses, because of the history of job discrimination suffered by that race. Consequently, the more completely these doubts can be dispelled, the more the educational performance of these youngsters would be improved.

Both employers and employee groups can be of assistance to the schools in helping to develop this motivation on the part of the students. This can be done in several ways.

1) Employers and those currently involved in the study of the employment situation in the area can assist the vocational counselors to keep abreast of the changing patterns of the job market and thus correctly interpret it to students. The vocational counselor must present a realistic appraisal of the job opportunities and requirements lest he frustrate rather than motivate.

2) Employers could assist the schools by publicly and unequivocally demonstrating that non-discrimination is their fixed policy in recruiting, interviewing, evaluating, hiring, training and promoting qualified employees at all levels; and that merit, ability and work performance are fixed standards by which all employees are judged in questions of promotion, layoff, recall and discharge. Because of the history of discrimination in the employment of Negroes, the schools need this additional support to help them build the confidence of the Negro students in the equity and justice of our society. Obviously opportunity must in fact exist or the sense of despair and frustration felt by Negro students will only be enhanced if the schools increase their efforts to motivate them to prepare themselves for employment opportunities which remain only on paper.

3) More employers could co-operate with vocational counselors in presenting student programs in which they demonstrate not only the opportunities available in their particular industries but also the qualifications expected of potential employees. The use of employees who are graduates of the particular school in which a presentation is being made would enhance the effect.

4) In the present situation, employers could assist by making genuine efforts to hire qualifiable individuals and provide opportunities for on-the-job training and education. By "qualifiable" we mean individuals whose actual school achievement might not qualify them, but who the employer, the teacher and the counselor feel can, with encouragement, become qualified. The broad range of our educational recommendations aims at increasing the success of the schools in qualifying students from culturally deprived areas, but there remains the immediate problem of students now in school or recently graduated who may not be qualified according to the standard norms. It is important that a genuine effort be made to close the gap between these students, especially if they are Negro, and the requirements of the job market. The problem of the unqualified student now in the high grades, or recently graduated, is made particularly difficult by automation's elimination of many unskilled or semi-skilled jobs which such students once would have filled. Unless industry is prepared to help him, the young Negro coming into the job market today or in the proximate future, untrained or partially trained, cannot hope to survive the declining economic demand for low skills or no skills. If the approach of industry is to insist that it will hire only the qualified -- the immediately trainable -- then the real and substantial progress required to better the economic status of Negroes in urban employment will not be realized. What we have said about Negroes and "qualifiable" hiring does not mean that we advocate fixed-quota hiring, that is, the setting aside of a certain number of jobs for Negroes. Such a policy is a negation of the concept we are trying to enlarge, namely, that a man and his skills are valuable for what they are, without regard to his color.

5) The development of additional apprenticeship opportunities could assist the schools in motivating students to prepare themselves more completely during their high school years. We recognize that industry is not an organized philanthropy. Yet enlightened self-interest, apart from any recognition of larger social responsibilities, indicates the necessity of taking positive steps within economic operating realities to remedy the critical unemployment problems existing among the

untrained and unskilled, in which group very often the Negro predominates. The cost of additional apprenticeships to industry is minimal compared to the cost to the nation's economy of an ever-increasing number of unemployed, unskilled and unemployable workers. Representatives of industry and unions could co-operatively subsidize journeymen teachers for apprentice on-the-job training in order to make enlarged apprenticeship programs more attractive to the employer, especially in trades and crafts where shortages of journeymen are noted. The employer sometimes resents the loss of production by a journeyman whose time is partially taken in teaching an apprentice. A way could be found to distribute the burden of this cost; if it is, the apprenticeship program would have a greater chance of being accepted and expanded.

The Apprenticeship Program

> The apprenticeable trades have not conclusively established the fact that they are non-discriminatory. Responsibility in the apprenticeship program is so diffused that the problem of establishing this fact is difficult. However, the role of the school system in apprentice training is an important one and should be used to assist in providing equality of opportunity for all who qualify.

It is very difficult to acquire statistics on how many Negroes in Oregon are members of unions whose membership requires a period of apprenticeship. The Urban League of Portland estimates that there are less than 10 Negro apprentices now training and that there are very few Negro journeymen in the various trades and crafts.

These numbers lend credence to the charges of discrimination which have often been levied against trade and craft unions. It is difficult to verify such charges, to fix any blame or to recommend correctives because responsibility for the state-governed apprentice system is quite fragmented. Too many agencies, committees and individuals are involved to say who or what is or may be responsible for any discriminatory action.

In Oregon the apprenticeship system works this way: a potential apprentice must first secure a job. Thereafter, to be certified as an apprentice he must undergo a series of aptitude tests administered by the Oregon State Employment Service. Armed with these test results he must apply for indenture to an apprenticeship committee of his trade upon which sit both labor and management representatives; this committee determines whether the applicant meets the standards it has set for the trade; these standards are registered with the Oregon State Apprenticeship Council. If he is accepted by the committee, the applicant is rated as an apprentice and undergoes a period, usually five years, of training both on-the-job and in classes operated for the craft by the local school system. If his advancement either on-the-job or in classes is unsatisfactory the apprenticeship committee in reviewing his case can drop him as an apprentice; the school district can report his performance to the trade committee but school personnel cannot themselves drop him from the program.[31]

Thus there are many places in this procedure where discrimination may be exercised. A business owner or shop steward can refuse original employment at the beginning of the process; an apprenticeship committee can make value judgments on candidates as to their "civic and social attitudes" as well as upon their aptitudes; an individual teacher in the school system-operated apprentice classes or a journeyman teacher on the job can find the apprentice lacking; other journeymen on the job can in a number of ways discourage the candidate.[32]

There are further limiting factors: reluctance on the part of the employer to have an apprentice on the job; pressures to hold down apprenticeships when there are journeymen who are not working fulltime; the effect of a long history of nepotism in awarding apprenticeships; journeymen who are unwilling to instruct apprentices; school failure to instill motivation in youths who potentially have the skills to enter apprenticeship for a particular trade.[33]

There have been steps taken to assure equality of apprenticeship opportunity, but because of the nature of the process and the many individual judgments involved, more needs to be done.

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[31] Research Memorandum, "Background on Oregon Apprenticeship Program" (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, January 24, 1964), p. 53.

[32] Ibid., p. 54.

[33] Ibid.

Steps taken so far include statements by various trade and crafts that applicants will be accepted without regard to race, creed, color or national origin; enactment by the 1963 Legislative Assembly of a requirement that a list be published of apprentices completing training in order to make available to would-be apprentices information on possible openings; and efforts to inform minority group members of opportunities which exist in various trades and crafts.

Despite these efforts, the long history of exclusions from many trades and crafts cannot quickly be forgotten by young Negroes, nor can the conviction that Negroes are the last hired and the first fired in the face of economic slow-downs. These facts are not conducive to motivation or achievement among Negroes. They result in a failure to apply for apprenticeship by many who might otherwise be interested and even ultimately accepted.

The schools have an important role in the state-regulated apprentice program. The schools teach in-class those skills which an apprentice cannot acquire on-the-job. They also meet about one-third of the cost of training an apprentice, although this is reimbursed by tuition fees. Certainly therefore, the schools have a great responsibility in making every effort to assure equality of opportunity in this program.

The problem of apparent discrimination in the apprenticeship program has been a matter of concern in many school systems. One of the more interesting actions has been taken by the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Board of Education, which adopted a resolution stating that Philadelphia school facilities will no longer be available for apprentice training to unions which refuse apprenticeships to qualified non-white applicants.[34] This step cuts across the many possibilities for evasion of responsibility for apprentice program discrimination. While the Philadelphia schools could not order trade and craft unions to be non-discriminatory, it could deny them the use of public facilities vital to the training of the apprentices they do indenture. The schools justified this on the grounds of their total educational role which included motivation of disadvantaged youth to aspire to productive and constructive citizenship.

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[34] Philadelphia Public Schools, Progress Report on the Program for Fostering Integration (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Public Schools, 1964), p. 12. Mimeographed.

Such a policy to be effective would require some means of determining whether or not qualified non-white apprentice applicants were denied indenture. We do not know how or whether Philadelphia has approached this problem but it might be done by having potential apprentices register their intentions with the school district prior to beginning the legally established indenture process we described earlier. If school personnel followed up later to see what happened in the legally established process to individuals who had registered their intentions with the schools, interesting things might be discovered.

In carrying out such a program it would be most important that problems existing in certain trade unions and crafts be recognized. Because of a limited number of jobs available in some cases, present union members will naturally resist all efforts to develop new journeymen; they will make every effort to perserve their seniority rights to jobs. Further, limited apprenticeships which might become available will most probably go to young men with whom journeymen are acquainted -- sons, nephews, the son of a friend. Until such time as more jobs in these trades or crafts are developed, this situation must be recognized for what it is. Care must be taken by responsible leaders to distinguish such situations from clear cut discrimination; nepotism is not racial discrimination and it would be unwise to force an expanded apprenticeship program on an already overstocked trade or craft union. There are ample numbers of trades and crafts where apprenticeship programs are clearly needed and in fact in operation.[35] It is on these that attention should be centered.

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[35] Research Memorandum, "Apprenticeship Program and Apprentices in Oregon" (Subcommittee on Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity, November 5, 1963), pp. 1-2.

PART XI

PROPOSALS FOR DEALING WITH DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS

PART XI

PROPOSALS FOR DEALING WITH DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS

To this point we have discussed the characteristics of the Portland school system, considered questions of intellectual ability and academic achievement, identified "disadvantaged schools," discussed the qualifications of Portland's school product on the basis of several comparative samples, and we have made a number of observations about program and students.

Our findings indicate that the results of the educational process are poor in schools which are predominantly Negro. We have found that there are some almost entirely white schools which demonstrate achievement deficiencies comparable in kind if not in degree with those which are predominantly Negro. This suggests that low socio-economic conditions are a root-cause of low achievement. Still, the Negro in America has suffered a tradition of subservience and discrimination which has tended to lower motivation generally, and especially in the education system. Thus, while socio-economic difficulties lower school motivation, Negro children have additional handicaps posed by traditional barriers, some of which are now being lowered as in the case of employment.

This evidence taken altogether suggests to us that race is a factor in the degree of education problems but the problems are broader than simply the question of racial concentration. We say this knowing that there is a broad spectrum of opinion concerning the significance of racial concentration or imbalance in schools.

On one edge of the spectrum are those who urge that the basic school problem is a racial one -- that the existence of racial concentration is indisputable evidence of the inferior quality of education. Proposals for dealing with education problems from this edge of the spectrum tend to call for redistribution of Negro children among schools of the system as a means of alleviating educational problems. At the other edge of the spectrum are those who say the question of racial concentration is irrelevant to education. Proposals for dealing with educational problems from this edge of the spectrum tend to call for increased instructional efforts within the schools where the problems are found.

Those on either edge of the spectrum do not all advocate either redistribution or compensatory education as diametrically opposed and exclusive of each other. And in the spectrum area between the extremes are those who hold a variety of views which stress in different degree the significance of racial isolation, which many believe is not necessarily the same as racial concentration. Those in this middle area view concentration only as one of several factors to be considered in bringing about improvement. Proposals from the middle of the spectrum tend in varying degree to stress both the need for increased school effort where education problems are found and increased inter-racial contacts through a variety of educationally-defensible means.

We have considered the viewpoints and proposals across this spectrum. The most commonly expressed advantages and disadvantages of these proposals, as expressed by those supporting or opposing them, should be noted.

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Those who believe that the cause of inferior schools is primarily racial concentration say that the public schools have a responsibility as the first order of business to eliminate such concentrations, using one or more of a variety of means which will bring about varying degrees of dispersal. This viewpoint and the variety of corrective proposals have in common a number of general arguments for and against.

The need for dispersal by whatever means generally is supported on these bases:

1) If Negro children who have been poor achievers in their predominantly Negro schools are dispersed they will be stimulated to better achievement by association with higher achieving white children, first by increased competition, and second because the factor of isolation will no longer be a barrier to motivation. While mixing in predominantly white schools, Negro children will lose their sense of inadequacy and isolation from the mainstream of American society.

2) Greater contact with white children will accustom Negro children to standards with which they must become familiar

in order to take an effective place in our society after their formal education is completed.

3) Likewise, white children will become familiar with Negro children on a person-to-person basis and will be less inclined to accept adult stereotypes of the Negro which conflict with their own experience.

4) Dispersal is necessary to assist the Negro to break out of the ghetto to which he has been confined by formal and informal restrictions. Mere compensatory education will not solve the ghetto problem, because the ghetto will not come unglued simply because restrictions have been loosened, nor will a separate but better education bring the Negro into the American mainstream.

5) Where less than total dispersal is undertaken an added beneficial effect is often the lowering of enrollment in overcrowded schools and increasing it in under-utilized schools.

The general arguments against dispersal as an educational tool are often expressed as follows:

1) Mandatory distribution proposals, no matter how extensive, are assignment of children to school on the basis of race, raising moral as well as legal questions, and rest on the dubious assumption that Negro children are incapable of learning at satisfactory levels unless they attend school with some undefined percentage of white children.

2) In many instances distribution will abruptly place low achieving Negro children in classes with higher achieving white children. This will fortify in both a fallacious image of Negro inferiority whereas actually poor achievement is typical of both white and Negro children from depressed environments. This would discourage Negro children from achievement instead of spurring them to new effort. It would also reinforce detrimental stereotypes of Negroes among white children.

3) Where dispersal has been undertaken it has met resistance from both Negro parents whose children are being moved and also from white parents served by schools to which Negroes are being moved. This creates controversy which is

easily transferred from parents to children with serious emotional and educational consequences. It imperils present levels of school support.

4) Distribution on the basis of race does not directly attack the educational problems presented by depressed socio-economic environments. It detracts from efforts to do something educationally positive in disadvantaged schools and by dispersing individuals in need of help makes it more difficult to treat their individual problems.

5) Distribution calls for varying degrees of transportation and construction expense and forecloses using these additional funds to remedy existing educational deficiencies in the very children being dispersed.

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Those are the general arguments for or against distribution. In addition, each form of distribution has particular advantages and disadvantages claimed for it. It should be recognized that not all persons who have urged one of the particular proposals which we next discuss have done so to the exclusion of all other proposals, and many who support some distribution proposals also advocate educational remedies which we shall discuss later. The more common distribution proposals, together with the arguments commonly expressed for and against, are:

1) The dispersal of all Negro children on a quota basis to white schools outside the residential area of Negro children, with bus transportation provided at school expense.

Proponents say this is the only method which can at one stroke eliminate schools with concentrations of Negro children; the more limited proposals discussed below cannot accomplish the elimination of Negro schools without increasing the concentration of Negroes in other schools. Opponents say an effective dispersal in Portland would require criss-crossing the city with school buses carrying elementary children long distances from home; unless white children were bussed into presently predominantly Negro schools it would require the closing of approximately six schools and their equivalent in new construction; the expense of transportation and/or construction would be prohibitive especially in view of the need for additional funds for more adequate educational programs; it would undoubtedly raise opposition throughout the community.

2) Redrawing attendance boundaries to split Negro residential areas where possible and attach them to adjoining white residential areas, lowering the percentage of Negro children in present heavy Negro enrollment schools.

Proponents say this method in contrast to total dispersal will affect fewer schools and confine protest to fewer citizens; in addition, the schools will remain essentially neighborhood schools and entail no transportation expense. Opponents say this is gerrymandering to accomplish racial mixture; that it will increase the ratio of Negro children in as many schools as it decreases it -- in some instances tipping the scales in adjoining districts where the Negro population is probably already growing; and that it will expand rather than eliminate the ghetto; where the adjoining white area is one of low socio-economic environment, the proposal creates two mixed disadvantaged schools out of one white and one Negro disadvantaged school, and in the unusual event that the adjoining district has a high achievement school the immediate result will be to lower school performance in one school and raise it in the other.

3) Princeton plans in which two attendance districts not necessarily adjoinging are merged with all children in certain grades going to one school and all children in the remaining grades going to the second school.

Proponents say this proposal offers an opportunity to hold concentrations of Negroes to 50% or less and, because pairs are involved, will also limit the number of schools and potential controversy; the proposal is better than redistricting because the method need not be limited to adjoining schools, giving a better degree of control over both racial and socio-economic balance. Opponents say this plan also is likely to accelerate expansion of the number of heavily Negro schools and also of the ghetto; where paired schools do not adjoin the expense and pupil and family inconvenience of bus transportation are present, again causing both opposition from those mandatorily inconvenienced and a misapplication of financial resources; a careful study of the Portland situation reveals that all possible school-pairings result in an approximate doubling of schools which would be "racially imbalanced" within the definition of the more extreme advocates of redistribution; finally opponents say the plan will offer no significant educational advantage in dealing with children from depressed environments that cannot be provided in other ways.

4) Open enrollment plans which permit Negroes in predominantly Negro schools to transfer on a voluntary basis to under-used white schools until a pre-fixed percentage of the student body at the receiving school is Negro; voluntary transfer of white students in predominantly white schools to predominantly Negro schools could be allowed on the same basis.

Proponents say this is a voluntary way of achieving the benefits of greater integration; parents who do transfer their children are likely to be the more highly motivated ones, hence their children will be more competitive in the new schools; the shift will in most cases be from crowded to uncrowded schools; finally, open enrollment tends to relieve the sense of being locked into a ghetto and gives Negro parents a chance to choose between a neighborhood school where an intensive educational upgrading may be occurring and a school outside the area; the cost is minor being limited to a careful preparation of teachers and pupils in receiving schools and of children using such transfer options. Opponents say the plan allows the transfer option only to Negroes and not to whites in disadvantaged schools, and is thus ethically questionable; the expense and planning entailed will fall heaviest on those parents least able to bear the expense or effect the planning; the proposal does nothing for the majority of the children who do not request or are not involved in the transfers; those who favor maximum dispersal oppose open enrollment because it may take the edge off demands for greater dispersion by other methods.

5) Free choice transfers which permit children irrespective of race to transfer on a first come, first served basis from any school to any school which has a pupil vacancy, with parents responsible for assuring attendance.

Proponents say that in St. Louis, Detroit and elsewhere this plan has relieved the sense of being locked in, and unlike directional transfers there are no racial strings attached; while offering psychological benefits the plan is not time consuming for the schools. Opponents say the plan does not sufficiently affect racial distribution and offers white parents an opportunity to move their children from predominantly Negro schools, increasing racial imbalance.

6) Restrictions on location of new construction to avoid creating or perpetuating racial concentra-

Proponents of restrictions urge them in varying degrees -- some ask that predominantly Negro schools be closed -- but basically they argue that new construction in predominantly Negro neighborhoods is construction of schools preordained to be occupied by Negroes; a more limited argument is advanced by those who urge that the factor of race be one consideration when new construction is located. Opponents of building restrictions say if schools are not built to relieve overcrowding and if predominantly Negro schools are to be closed, then children must be transported to, and new schools must be built in, predominantly white areas, raising opposition in both Negro and white areas;[1] in any event, overcrowded schools must be relieved before educational deficiencies can be corrected; unless Negro children are to be condemned to overcrowded schools or largely dispersed in the face of opposition, new construction must be carried forward.

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Educational remedies in great variety have been employed in many parts of the country. They rest on the premise that the problem of poor achievement in disadvantaged schools is primarily a consequence of depressed socio-economic environment, and that this can be substantially offset if action is taken within the educational process early enough.[2] As previously stated, many of those who advocate some measure of increased inter-racial contact within the schools also support these compensatory education devices. Thus, compensatory education and efforts to relieve racial isolation are not considered mutually exclusive, but are regarded as complementary.

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[1] In St. Louis the transportation of some 5,000 Negro children daily to overcome Negro area school overcrowding met Negro and white opposition, leading to a successful bond issue to build five new predominantly Negro elementary schools. St. Louis requires a two-thirds majority to pass a bond election. See Schlafly, Report of the Traveling Subcommittee, Committee on Race and Education, pp. 42-43.

[2] Martin P. Deutsch, "Dimensions of the School's Role in the Problems of Integration," Integrating the Urban School ed. Gordon J. Klopf and Irsrael A. Laster (New York: Columbia University, 1963), Part I, p. 42. "Programs to reverse the effects of deprivation cannot be put together in a day, and people can't be trained in a month to carry them through. This has been a consistent weakness of many programs which have been established. Also, progress to raise the horizons of children must not be allowed to

Following are some of the programs:

1) Reduction of class size to allow the teacher to devote special attention to the individual child in regular classes.

Portland starts with a better average class size than many other large school systems. The city-wide elementary class size in 1963 was 28.9. In Detroit typical disadvantaged school class sizes are, for example, 35. In Portland a start has been made in reduction in disadvantaged schools with Boise 26.3, Eliot 24.3, and Holladay 22.3. In Highland, however, it is nearly 30.[3] All Portland teachers and principals interviewed place the highest priority upon reduction in class size.[4] This emphasis is echoed in other studies and in interviews with school personnel in other cities. The comment was made, however, that a poor teacher will do as poorly with 20 children in a class as she does with 35. The reduced load offers an opportunity for greater effectiveness, not less work. This is also the most expensive remedial measure, for reduction in class size from 30 to 20 in a given school means a 50 per cent increase in the number of classrooms and teachers. If actual class size cannot be reduced, reduction of the teacher-pupil ratio is also advocated through the addition of special teaching personnel to assist classroom teachers in critical curriculum areas.

2) The special training of teachers assigned to disadvantaged schools to prepare them for the special educational conditions and social problems which they will meet, and to give them methods and techniques for coping with such conditions. [5]

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[3] Research Memorandum, "Class Size in Selected Schools," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, November 18, 1963), p. 24.

[4] Minutes of the meetings, December 16, 1963, p. 42; and December 30, 1963, pp. 51-55, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations.

[5] Marburger, op. cit., p. 304. Teacher expectation has a surprising impact on achievement.

All principals and teachers interviewed, both locally and in other cities, urge such training both at the college level and as a special summer in-service workshop for teachers assigned to disadvantaged schools. The trained teacher is the key to remedial measures. Outstanding facilities and services are not enough. Money and energy allocated to the disadvantaged schools must be spent "appropriately and uniquely".[6]

3. *The provision of education for children of preschool age in districts with disadvantaged schools, giving such children a wider range of experience and cultural background with which to start school.*

Such preschool experiments are reported as successful in the Deutsch experiment in New York[7] and in Champaign-Urbana.[8] They are recommended in both Detroit and St. Louis.[9]

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[6] Abraham Tannenbaum, Conference on the High School in the Big Cities, Stanford University, Summer 1963, as reported by Richter.

[7] Passow, *op. cit.*, p. 105: "Professor Martin Deutsch's thesis is that the 'lower class child enters the school situation so poorly prepared to produce what the school demands that initial failures are almost inevitable and the school experience becomes negatively rather than positively reinforced.' . . . Discussing the significance of language development and the language-symbolic process in all learning, Deutsch observes that early verbal impoverishment may contribute heavily to the child's disadvantage. . . Deutsch would put his emphasis on working with young children, preschoolers and kindergarteners and their parents, on the assumption that the younger the child the greater the possibilities of reversing the effects of cultural deprivation. More ways of linking the school's work with the home are needed. Parents could be of considerable help if trained to aid their children, since they are often embarrassed by their own ignorance."

[8] Guy, Minutes of the meeting, November 18, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 18.

[9] *Report of the Traveling Subcommittee*, *op. cit.*, St. Louis and Detroit interviews; also, Marburger, "Working Toward More Effective Education," *Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

At its Willow Manor School, Oakland, California, has such an experiment in progress.[10] Emphasis is laid on the need for such programs throughout the literature.[11] In 1963-64 an experiment on a small scale was undertaken at Eliot. There is increasing evidence that early age experiences have greater promise for cultural development than any other type program.[12]

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[10] Oakland Public Schools, Willow Manor Oral Language Development Project (Oakland: Oakland Public Schools, 1963-64). Mimeographed.

[11] I.e., Passow, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[12] Bruno Bettelheim, "How Much Can Man Change?", The New York Review of Books, Vol. III, No. 2, September 10, 1964. Some of the newest evidences of the effect of preschool experience on intellectual growth are startling. Bruno Bettelheim, professor of education at the University of Chicago, in drawing upon the recently published research of his colleague, Professor Benjamin S. Bloom who is president of the Association for Educational Research, (Stability and Change in Human Characteristics, published by John Wiley and Son, New York, 1964), concludes that the cause of intellectual enrichment is for all practical purposes lost by the time a child enters school. ". . .Only recently has American social science adopted the psychoanalytic view of man; hence the widespread conviction that human personality is shaped in infancy, and that the early characteristics are extremely resistant to change. Nevertheless, we find our social scene flooded with statements on how this or that form of social engineering is going to change personality at an age when. . .personality can hardly be changed short of long-term therapy or some influence of equal depth. . .Professor Bloom found that half of all the growth in intelligence takes place between birth and age four. The next 30% increase in intelligence is made between the ages of four and eight. Between eight and seventeen, when the child is of school age, intelligence increases only about 20%. In short, just as much intelligence develops in the first four years of life as in the next 13 years, and there is very little growth after 18. . .What are the. . .factors in an environment that have so much influence on the growth of intelligence? Professor Bloom. . .identified 13 such factors, all relating to family background or to the relations between parents and children. Seven of these factors are process variables indicative of the parents' response to the child and his capacities -- their intellectual aspirations for him, the rewards they offer for intellectual growth, the opportunities they provide for learning inside and outside the home (not including school); and the nature and amount of help they give

4) The provision of an extended school day in disadvantaged schools to provide additional cultural background and physical training for such children during their grade school years.

In Detroit volunteer high school students participate in a very effective way as leaders of after-school classes and clubs.[13] The Higher Horizons Program in New York City

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to extend learning in a wide variety of situations. The other six factors tend to be more stable: they are characteristics of the parents and the home. Among them are the parents' use of language in a variety of situations; the opportunities in the home for enlarging vocabulary and the quality of the language used; whether there is emphasis on correct use of language; the availability of books, periodicals, and library facilities. These 13 factors account for two-thirds of all intelligence development, a process that is completed before the child even enters school. . . Even for general achievement, such as reading comprehension, the ground is laid long before the child enters school. A full third of whatever the child will achieve later in school is developed by the time he gets there, probably because so much of it depends on vocabulary development and language comprehension. . . By the time the child has reached an age when the home influence is waning, when he is old enough to strike out on his own -- that is, by the end of grade school -- a full 75% of all his academic achievement has already been made. Thus, efforts in behalf of the child after that time can only influence 25% of his total academic achievement. . . If we could stimulate a student to do 20% better in high school (a tremendous gain, if achieved), it would improve his overall achievement only 5%, a rather insignificant gain. . . This means that if we want to raise the intelligence of children by the possible maximum of 20 I.Q. points. . . we must change their environment long before they come of school age. . . Will we continue to fool ourselves by thinking that we can change the lives of underprivileged children in school, when it is much too late for everything that really counts? I believe that reform must be concentrated where it most matters -- on the conditions of life at home -- if we are to give these children what they most need."

[13] *Report of the Traveling Subcommittee*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

follows such a program along with other devices such as field trips to remedy cultural deficiencies and success has been reported.[14] The principal of George Washington High School in New York City, Demonstration Guidance Program, added that there is no magic wand but a longer school day and longer school year beginning in the elementary school are necessary.[15]

5) The provision of a regular summer school program on a voluntary basis in disadvantaged schools to supplement the regular curriculum, to remedy cultural deficiencies, and to provide physical training and athletic programs for such children.

Significant improvement in Indian children achievement was reported by the American Friends Service Committee after an experimental summer program in 1963.[16] Camp programs of various types are important services.

6) The provision of a school-community agent in each disadvantaged school.[17]

The community agent is a wide ranging school social worker on the principal's staff whose function it is to organize after-hours programs for both children and adults. His job is to encourage the community to take an interest in its school, parents to take an interest in their children's education, and the community to take an interest in itself. In Detroit, the community agent is one of the posts established under the Great Cities Program in its seven schools. In St. Louis, where funds were more limited, the principals seem to be performing to an astonishing degree the function of community agent. In any event, all of the literature and all of our observations suggest that the disadvantaged school needs an additional person whose job is to create a community-school sense of direction.

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[14] Minutes of the meeting, November 18, 1963, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, p. 18.

[15] Henry Hillson, Conference on the High School in the Big Cities, Stanford University, Summer 1963, as reported by Richter.

[16] Mrs. David Newhall, John Willard, Minutes of the meeting, March 9, 1964, Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, pp. 125-130.

[17] Report of the Traveling Subcommittee, op. cit., pp. 4, 10-11, 15-16.

7) The provision of a full time regularly assigned registered nurse to each disadvantaged school.

Most programs for these schools emphasize that the children have a much higher incidence of health problems than children in more nearly average schools.[18] In addition, their parents necessarily have more limited means of securing medical and dental care, and a more limited awareness of the importance of corrective action.

8) The establishment of substantial administrative autonomy for the administrator, the principal and the teachers involved in dealing with disadvantaged schools.[19]

Each school has characteristics of its own which are in many ways a reflection of the neighborhood which it serves. Each population of children needs its own approach which will depend not only upon what the children or combinations of them are, but also on what in the way of faculty is available to deal with them. In these schools both principals and teachers are given an unusual freedom to experiment with teaching methods and with curriculum; they are then judged upon results. The rationale is that the traditional methods of attempting to teach and employ curriculum in disadvantaged schools do not appear to have been generally successful. Those who have been most successful emphasize this flexibility and independence.[20] This flexibility is extended to class size, grouping of students, staff utilization, school organization, cultural enrichment experiences, and after school programs. Additional funds are placed at the principal's disposal to finance these things. Such independence is likewise extended to the principal's activities and relationships with the neighborhood in which his school is located.

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[18] Dr. William Snook, Minutes of the meeting, March 9, 1964, Subcommittee on Government Agencies, pp. 57-58. The same problem is noted in Portland.

[19] Marburger, et. al., Report of the Traveling Subcommittee, op. cit., pp. 3, 6-7, 20-23, 37-39.

[20] Deutsch, "Dimensions of the School's Role in the Problems of Integration," op. cit., pp. 34-35. Deutsch is among those pessimistic about the success of compensatory education within the framework of existing administration. "Education has the disadvantage of a long and encumbering history. In a sense, the

9) The placing of unusual emphasis upon excellence in reading.

All teachers, all principals and all administrators involved in intensive education efforts to counteract cultural deficiencies stress the importance of reading. In a New York elementary school visited, the primary emphasis of the extra funds derived from the Higher Horizons Program was placed upon extra teachers for reading.[21] Most programs in other cities stress reading and the importance of correcting reading difficulties as they arise in all children irrespective of where they appear in the I.Q. or achievement scale. In this connection great emphasis is placed upon having an adequate range of books and magazines in the room and also in the school library to stimulate each child at whatever his reading level.

10) The provision of special classes with reduced pupil-teacher ratios for children designated as mentally retarded on the basis of ultimate classification as between 55 and 75 I.Q. and inability to keep up in regular classes.

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institution of education -- the school -- is the status quo. It often operates through huge politically oriented bureaucracies that continually inhibit its potential for change and for developing strategies for meeting social crises such as those inherent in the new urban America. These bureaucracies are often so large that introduction of meaningful change, even when agreed on by the higher echelons, is limited by the clogging of communication channels with paper, red tape, and assorted other artifacts, and by the constraints under which the average classroom teacher operates. A chasm is created between policy and implementation, and as a result many inconsistencies are produced."

[21] Gang, Report of the Traveling Subcommittee, op. cit., pp. 20-23.

Staff persons involved in MR programs in Detroit, New York and St. Louis all point out the danger of picking up essentially normal children in the MR program.[22] On the other hand, in each city in which the program was studied, the staff people and the principals felt the MR program was helpful -- particularly since the children who went into it were carefully screened on the basis of individual tests, complete psychological examination, were mandatorily retested periodically, and the content of the MR program was designed to assist children back into the regular classroom where possible.

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[22] New York City schools because of this danger, among other reasons, abandoned the use of standardized group I.Q. tests in 1964.

PART

COMMITTEE'S PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS: ITS JUSTIFICATION AND VALIDITY

PART XII

COMMITTEE'S PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS: ITS JUSTIFICATION AND VALIDITY

Measures proposed to deal with disadvantaged schools involve concepts of race as well as concepts of education, and in the present situation both are under discussion. Controversy surrounds use of dispersal measures where the criteria are not agreed upon and the beneficial results anticipated must be weighed against such adverse consequences as are reasonably predictable. There is less controversy concerning educational measures which can be evaluated by objective criteria such as achievement scores, reading levels, attendance records and similar conventional means.

Our recommendations for dealing with disadvantaged schools are based on both speculative and practical considerations.

Speculatively, we have as a result of our study and discussions arrived at what we believe is a clarification of the various concepts employed in relation to current racial problems. From these considerations, we have arrived at a notion of the role and influence which racial considerations should be accorded in our educational system and the factors which must be taken into account in any constructive proposals designed to further the cause of racial integration.

Practically, we have analyzed carefully the composition of the student body in Portland public schools in which Negro students are concentrated and have derived from this study what we believe are solid reasons for the recommendations we will make.

A. Clarification of Concepts

Certain words have become headlines in the present social upheaval involving the public schools in the United States. "Segregation" (both de jure and de facto), "discrimination" (both obvious and subtle), "racial imbalance" or "concentration," and "integration" are words which invoke a troubled and sometimes passionate response. They reflect concepts which are central to the problems which concern society, yet their usage is not yet settled and is frequently ambiguous. "Desegregation" and "integration" are often used interchangeably. Likewise, "de facto segregation" and "racial imbalance" and "racial concentration" are frequently used interchangeably.

Segregation, De Facto and De Jure: In the Brown decision of May, 1954, the United States Supreme Court held that a state law which required that children be assigned to certain schools solely upon the ground of their race was invalid. The Court thus overruled the earlier long established doctrine that legal or de jure segregation upon the ground of race was valid provided that equal school facilities were in fact provided. The Court premised its conclusion upon a finding that legally segregated facilities for education were inherently inferior by reason of the effect of segregation and its aura of inferiority upon the minority so segregated.

The term "de facto segregation" is used in different ways. Sometimes it is applied to segregated situations which are brought about by extralegal means, or by law or practice not phrased in terms of race. So defined, de facto segregation does not really differ from de jure segregation in terms of result or intention. Both types of segregation share a common element -- the conscious purpose to produce or maintain segregation.

However, segregation in the sense of separation, regardless of intent to cause it, can exist for other reasons. Hence, even when there is no deliberate intent to segregate, a school is sometimes also described as de facto segregated when it is almost entirely white or almost entirely Negro as a result of residential patterns, or when it is composed predominantly of ethnic or economic groups, such as white Appalachian children in Detroit or Puerto Ricans in New York, again as a result of residential patterns. Such concentrations in schools, sometimes racial, sometimes religious, are frequently produced by a series of complex human actions, many of them individual choices. In urban communities population shifts can alter housing patterns with astonishing rapidity, and the resulting impact upon the school may be wholly unintended.

Racial Imbalance: Where, as in Portland, any intent by the school system to segregate on the basis of race is lacking, those schools in which a concentration of any race appears by reason of changing neighborhood housing patterns, have also been called "racially imbalanced" as well as "de facto segregated". These concepts lead necessarily to the question of what is balance, because imbalance is essentially a negative term which can be understood only in relation to its positive counterpart, balance.

In Portland, with roughly a 7% Negro component in our public school population, is an ideal balance 7% Negro and 93% white in any given school? In this context is a Portland school with 93% Negroes considered imbalanced, while another school with 93% whites is considered balanced? Totally different equations are posed by Detroit with 51% Negroes in public schools, St. Louis with 57% Negroes in public schools, and on Manhattan with 75% Negroes in public schools. Does racial balance also mean equal distribution of races throughout all levels of society and all institutions in society? As applied to schools, does it mean that ideally in each school in a particular district all races must be represented in proportion to their numbers?

To pose these questions is to pose the difficulty inherent in trying to answer them.

There is, insofar as we can see, no basis or formula by which one may determine when racial balance is achieved. A statistical image of a racially balanced society is not necessarily a well integrated society, nor is it one which must or perhaps even can exist. We do not believe therefore, that the introduction of the quantitative concepts of "balance" or "imbalance" into the question is of any help in suggesting possible solutions or even in clarifying the problem.

Integration, Desegregation: We believe that it is in the consideration of these two concepts that the racial problems which are our concern will be most clearly delineated and the direction of solution indicated.

It is commonly agreed as we noted in our Introduction that racial integration will have been achieved when citizens of all races shall have been assimilated into the educational, cultural, social, political and economic spheres of American life. Such integration, which for the Negro generally remains a goal yet to be attained, parallels ethnic integration which has been virtually accomplished, at least in the Portland community.

Integration therefore is a goal, an end, an objective. How is it to be achieved?

As we have seen above, conscious efforts to separate, segregate members of a particular race from the rest of society render impossible a racially integrated society. Further, as we noted, a similar result occurs when the members of a particular race themselves deliberately choose to separate themselves from the rest of society. Consequently, if racial integration is to be achieved, it must be by a process of desegregation -- that is the removal of all contrived barriers to social movement which are based upon race and the development of conditions, particularly of the intellect, which will allow individuals to make reasonable choices from an entire spectrum of choices.

In the light of this concept of desegregation, the following principles are suggested:

1) Proposals for desegregation should not contain demands that choices be exercised in only one way.

Not all human decisions which are thought to be desirable can or should necessarily be required. In a free society, we attempt to leave to the individual many areas of individual choice. Striking the balance between that which is required or prohibited as a matter of public policy and that which is left to the sum of individual choices is a difficult problem and nowhere more so than in the area we are discussing.

To be more specific, our society ideally seeks to leave to the individual the right to make an individual choice as to where he shall live, leaving to him the selection of a state, city, locality and neighborhood. Our practice has fallen greatly short of this, and particularly in the case of minorities. But once artificial barriers -- whether legal or customary -- are removed, we believe that the limit of public policy as expressed in terms of compulsion has been reached. Thus when individuals, in the absence of such barriers, freely make choices which result in forming or continuing racial, religious or nationality concentrations in the places where they live, they remain within the bounds of public policy whether or not we consider their choice a happy one.

To demand that choices be exercised in only one way in order to achieve desegregation is to nullify the very freedom which is sought.

2) Proposals to further the process of integration should contain provisions to:

a. Remove contrived barriers to freedom of choice.
b. Create opportunities for individual choice.
c. Develop awareness of value of individual choice and social responsibilities consequent to freedom of choice.

B. The School

Public policy has not, of course, allowed complete freedom of choice in all social matters. The child has no choice as to whether or not he is to be educated. The parent has no choice as to whether his child shall be educated, although he is allowed to choose between public schools and publicly recognized private schools.

Historically, the common school of the 19th Century was located in the small town where it served the children of the town and from the surrounding rural community. Its central location made its services and facilities available to the entire spectrum of the population. As modern communities urbanized they acquired both a greater density of population and an increasing geographical spread from the urban center into the suburban complex. As a consequence, the "neighborhood school" has developed as a decentralization of the earlier common school whereby the factor of distance was minimized and educational opportunities were made more accessible. Inevitably, attendance boundaries had to be drawn so that children attended those schools most accessible to them and for whom they were intended. Also, it was inevitable that these schools came, more and more, to reflect the character of their neighborhoods; and as neighborhood schools in urban communities became more and more differentiated, the quality of the educational opportunities and experiences thus afforded was affected.

Also historically, parents have always possessed the right to determine the specific means whereby state requirements for the education of children were to be met. Traditionally, tutorial instruction and private schools have been used to an increasingly higher level, and public participation through payment of taxes has become more significant; however, parents have become less capable of utilizing their alternatives of tutorial instruction and private schools. Of necessity, they must depend heavily upon the resources provided through public education.

The parent in the modern urban community, therefore, finds himself necessarily dependent upon public education for his children, but he is locked into their attendance at a school which is determined by his place of residence and which may differ from other schools in his urban community in terms of the quality of educational opportunities and experiences it offers. Especially in the case of Negroes, who have all too often been limited in their choice of a place to live, this policy has resulted in their children being forced to attend schools which are not socially comprehensive, but are rather racially homogenous. Thus, where attendance policies for neighborhood schools are rigidly enforced, the parent is largely deprived of his traditional right to select the specific means whereby his children are educated in accordance with the requirements exacted by the state. Yet, from an administrative point of view, the neighborhood school remains the single most effective device upon which future planning can be based and in terms of which accessibility, as a factor in equality of educational opportunities, can be gained in geographic or spatial terms.

Though it is true that our population has become and is increasingly mobile, this is more true of adults than youth and more true of youths than children. Also, it is a fact that time, in some cases, is more indicative of distance than space -- that time in minutes is more realistic in dealing with distance than geography reflected in miles as a category of linear measurement. Thus, some modification of the neighborhood school and its attendance district is possible (in specific cases, perhaps desirable) even though the neighborhood school may be essential as a basis for planning and initial pupil assignment.

The Social Role of the School: The public school system in the United States has long been recognized as a social agency whose role transcends the mere transmission of academic skill and technical knowledge. It has been consciously employed as a means of producing the sort of political climate and the sort of ideal of citizenship which we have felt necessary to maintain our system of government. The schools have helped to transform generations of immigrants from many foreign lands speaking many different languages into a people which conceives itself as having a common heritage, speaking a common tongue, and aspiring to a common future.

It is a fact beyond controversy that today the largest single remaining unassimilated minority in American life is the American Negro. It is fortunate that the Negro wants to participate more fully in the mainstream of American life, rather than maintain a relatively separate existence in opposition to the values and goals of that greater society. Because the public school has been successful in this role before, because the school reaches substantially every person in our land, because it reaches us when we are forming our first impressions of the world about us, the schools have a vital role to play in the assimilation process. By the same token, we must recognize that this task of assimilation and reconciliation will require imagination, energy, and, above all, wisdom.

The good of the individual child of whatever talent or whatever handicap must be given prime consideration by the school system. Any steps that it takes to further the process of integration must be educationally valid.

Hence, racial considerations must not be the sole criterion for educational decisions, or desegregation efforts.

The School and Equality of Opportunity: The assumption has been made in the past, not without strong justification, that equal opportunities were being provided when essentially comparable facilities and services were made equally available. Generally, it has been felt that recognition of the principle of human equality requires uniformity of treatment as evidence of the school's equality of concern for all students irrespective of race, creed or color.[1] It has been recognized, however, that the unique qualities possessed by some individuals as classes of people must be met by qualitatively different kinds of resources and programs and/or instructional methods and devices; thus, both the mentally deficient and the gifted are segregated for special purposes which are designed to accomplish maximum benefits for each. The fact of cultural deprivation would now seem to suggest yet another classification wherein equality of concern and the equalization of educational opportunity requires the energetic and imaginative use of unequal resources in order to achieve essentially equal results.

The School and Desegregation: The foregoing discussion of the school permits us to draw these summary conclusions:

1) While the neighborhood school concept is essential as a basis for planning an initial pupil assignment, some

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[1] Research Memorandum, "Proposed Outline of Study," (Subcommittee on School Plant and Operations, November 18, 1963), pp. 23 and 27. For instance, in the Portland school system there has been an apparent effort to provide substantially equal materials and facilities despite varying needs of different schools.

modification of the neighborhood school and its attendance district should be possible and in specific cases may be desirable and necessary.

2) The public school system in the United States has in the past successfully aided in the assimilation of racial and ethnic groups into American life; it should perform a similar task today for the American Negro.

3) The school will aid in the assimilation of the Negro by:

- a) Removing contrived barriers to freedom of choice.
- b) Determining that each child, irrespective of race, shall have full access and opportunity to profit from those educational programs which the schools provide.
- c) Developing an awareness in the child of the value of individual choice and the social responsibilities consequent upon such choice.

4) An integrated school therefore is one in which all children are accepted as of essentially equal human worth, in which all children are judged in terms of their individual characteristics, and in which all children are taught to feel capable of freedom of movement and choice in developing their natural talents.

5) In addition to special programs for the mentally deficient, the gifted and the physically handicapped, the schools should also provide special programs in order to achieve essentially equal results for culturally deprived students.

C. The Portland Situation

Our study suggests that the primary cause of low achievement in those schools located in neighborhoods which are depressed in a socio-economic sense, is the background which the child brings to school when he arrives at the age of five or six, and the environment in which he lives.

This observation is applicable to both white and Negro schools. Racial concentrations of Negroes add problems of motivation and feelings of alienation to the problems of socio-economic deprivation.

Likewise racial isolation has deprived both Negro and white children of opportunities to learn, to know and respect each other as individuals with common interests rather than as races with different or hostile interests.

Yet a study of the aptitudes and achievement levels of the Negro students in the culturally deprived schools indicates that a large percentage of them are not prepared to cope with the academic and social demands of some of the white middle class schools to which they could be transferred. Hence, such a transfer for many of them would be educationally unsound and, in terms of prejudices, could in some cases defer progress in assimilation.[2]

An array of other special solutions holds promise of early and real progress.

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The conclusions and recommendations which we have reached take into account all of the factors, both speculative and practical, which our study has confronted. They represent an attempt to pursue an exciting and constructive plan to improve the education of disadvantaged children both white and Negro, to provide both formal and informal opportunities within the school system for favorable contact between the races, to set up controlled transfer programs designed to further assimilation on an educationally, socially and psychologically sound basis, and to provide opportunities and challenge to all segments of society for co-operative action with the Portland Public Schools in furthering the assimilation of the Negro into the mainstream of American life.

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[2] Ausubel, op. cit., p. 131: "Increased physical contact per se between white and Negro children does little to reduce prejudice, but more intimate personal interaction under favorable circumstances significantly reduces social distance between the two groups. . .Artificial attempts to end de facto school segregation, caused by neighborhood segregation of Negroes in particular urban slums, are socially and psychologically unsound. It is not only impractical to transport white children to schools in distant, predominantly Negro neighborhoods just for the purpose of maintaining the principles of racially mixed classes, but it also victimizes individual white children and thereby increases racial tensions."

PART XIII

CONCLUSIONS

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Our answer to the question of whether Portland's schools are providing children of all races with equal educational opportunities is:

No, they are not. Our studies indicate that our schools in their present educational practices are not achieving their purpose for students from culturally deprived circumstances, and this is particularly true for Negro students.

Our answers to the questions of what the schools can do to improve achievement of students in culturally deprived areas in meeting the educational objectives of the school system, and what the schools can do to eliminate unreasoned prejudice in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race, are inextricably woven into the considerations of the answer to the School Board's first question, and are implicit in the recommendations which we shall shortly make.

We cannot overstress the totality of the problem as it touches the entire community and all its agencies, not just the schools. Political, social, economic and human questions of the first magnitude are raised by the spectre of an ever increasing proportion of our young people who are not being fitted for their future obligations in a rapidly changing society.

Cause and Remedy for Unequal Educational Opportunity

It is our opinion that if any fault is to be imputed to the Portland public schools regarding lack of equal opportunity for children of any race, the fault lies in the fact that the schools did provide equal programs and educational efforts to all students in the system, with minor exceptions where physical or mental problems existed, or where superior talent existed, in which cases extra efforts have been made. But the schools have not taken sufficiently into account whether what was taught the general run of youngsters, and the way it was taught, was really appropriate to the background and ability of the learners in all the schools.

Obviously some remedies must be found.

We believe that for the problems as they exist in Portland, the best approach is that of intensifying education efforts -- concentrating attacks on those educational deficiencies which occur in students due to many factors, racial isolation, depressed economic prospects based on past history, deplorable physical environments, etc. Such a program would get at the roots of the problem so far as the school is concerned, for educational deficiencies severely limit the qualifications and future prospects of so many of the students, as does racial bias.

It is the job of Portland's schools to prepare all students for life in an integrated competitive society. As long as the present realities persist, special efforts must be made to provide all students with imaginative new tools and opportunities for learning for future participation in an open society.

School District No. 1 should use every means consistent with its educational objectives not only to prevent racial concentration, but to correct it. Under no circumstances however must the educational development of the individual child be placed in jeopardy simply to achieve physical realignment. While admitting the limitations of our study, we believe that the evidence presented from it is sufficient to indicate that the problem is greater than a simple concentration of students of one race in certain schools. Widespread transfers on a quota basis could result in educationally unsound groupings, not simply of race, but more critically of economic and education-readiness groups, and would result in more educational and social difficulties and inter-group tensions than now exist.

The schools must call upon all elements of society to assist in the problem of promoting the assimilation of all races into a society of men with equal opportunities in all areas -- the true goal of all integration efforts. But the school itself must also take some positive steps to improve what it is trying to do, since in our opinion, to a large degree it is not achieving its purposes for a significant segment of society.

With the above as a general statement, we shall proceed to draw more detailed conclusions first as they affect the educational process, and second as they affect the community at large.

Conclusions Regarding the Educational Process

1) A depressed or substandard community and home environment depresses educational achievement. Adverse features of such an environment are lower than average income, a higher incidence of family and community depressed standards, substandard living conditions and frustrations. In Albina this is further aggravated by racial isolation.

2) Substantial numbers of children in a limited number of Portland schools which we have designated as disadvantaged schools are obtaining an education which is unacceptable in quality and achievement. Another substantial number of children with similar environmental and cultural disadvantages, located in smaller groups in non-disadvantaged schools, are likewise receiving an unacceptable education. As a result of their socially and culturally depressed total environment, the regular instructional program and ordinary teaching methods are ineffective as to these children. Such disadvantaged schools and children require the application of a greater proportion of resources in order to achieve the educational objectives of School District No. 1. They also require adjustments in plant and personnel programs and major adjustments in curriculum and teaching techniques.

3) Disadvantaged children are both white and Negro. But for a variety of reasons both historical and present, including racial isolation, a higher percentage of Negro children are disadvantaged and, at the moment, less capable as individuals of working out of their depressed total environment.

4) The concentration of Negro children due to residential concentration of their parents has contributed to the development of disadvantaged schools in a number of instances.

5) Racial concentrations are produced by population shifts which tend to overcrowd formerly adequate school facilities.

6) In general the concept of the neighborhood school is sound and preferable to any other system which has been suggested for the organization of school student populations. Experience elsewhere has demonstrated that indiscriminate dispersal of children on a quota basis is questionable educational policy as well as disruptive of school organization. However, opportunity for both Negro and white parents to transfer their

children voluntarily from their neighborhood school to fill existing vacancies in other schools should produce favorable contacts between children of different races or different backgrounds on an individual and personal basis. Likewise, transfers initiated for educational reasons by school authorities and agreed to by parents would achieve the same results.

7) In a nation and a world which are multi-racial it is essential that a school system create contacts among children of all races sufficient to accustom the one to the other on terms which will produce a favorable impression on all.

8) While a school system cannot alter the inherent capacity of the child, it can and must deal with the very substantial effect which the child's total environment has upon his development and ability to learn. This is particularly true in the case of many Negro children whose environment more frequently hampers their acquisition of knowledge.

9) The measures which should be taken to correct the educational and environmental difficulties of disadvantaged schools must not be dependent upon or expressed in terms of race as a single factor, nor should such measures place children of different races in different categories with respect to rights, privileges or opportunities. Since the quality of education is found to be deficient in disadvantaged schools, measures must be taken to improve radically the educational techniques necessary to educate such children. The school system within educationally sound programs must take remedial measures to alleviate racial isolation and supply to all children a sense of common acquisition of our cultural heritage.

10) Leadership is needed to describe the problems of segregation, education, race relations and social justice in this community. The Portland School Board is in a unique position to exercise this leadership.

Conclusions Regarding the Community at Large

1) This community should commit itself to political and financial support of programs to improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged children as the only reasonable alternative to developing an ever larger proportion of its population which is unable to function as constructive and productive citizens. The State of Oregon, through its Legislative Assembly and appropriate

executive officials, should recognize that this is more than a local problem and lend financial assistance to Portland School District No. 1 and other districts similarly situated; the state recognizes its responsibility to reimburse school districts wholly or partially for extra expenses incurred in educating a host of physical and emotional handicaps; the presence of concentrations of disadvantaged school children is no less a handicap to the individual child and to the school system than is the presence of children who are blind, deaf, disturbed or crippled.

2) Many government agencies have responsibilities for environmental social problems which have a detrimental effect on educational achievement in culturally disadvantaged areas. Generally these agencies are understaffed in relation to the magnitude of the problems with which they are expected to cope. These agencies could perform a more adequate service if there were better case-by-case co-ordination of their activities, even though inadequate resources are available for the total job.

3) Government agencies are barred by law from practicing racial discrimination in program or employment. The manner and extent to which they should actively promote integration is a matter of disagreement.

4) Privately-financed agencies can perform a valuable function in alleviating many adverse environmental situations which affect educational achievement. The greatest need for such disadvantaged area private services is in Albina because racial isolation magnifies problems there.

5) The most urgent Albina private agency need is for nursery and preschool day care, youth character building, and family involvement in youth activities.

6) The programs of privately-supported agencies do not recognize color or creed, yet with a few notable exceptions little private agency effort is being made in seriously disadvantaged neighborhoods because the tendency is to serve those most easily reached.

7) Comprehensive planning by private agencies is lacking or else it is ineffectively used as a guideline for the assessment of area needs within fields of service. There seems to be little correlation between some United Good Neighbors fund allocations and agency efforts in culturally deprived neighborhoods such as Albina, particularly in programs for disadvantaged youth.

be effective, private agency attacks on Albina problems must incorporate the suggestions and recommendations of Albina's leaders and achieve greater co-ordination of programs and program content, supported by valid research on area needs and statistical evaluations of results.

9) Some private agency programs which seem particularly effective in disadvantaged areas preserve the self-respect of recipients of assistance by providing for a fee predicated on the ability to pay.

10) An insufficient proportion of the total charitable funds expended in this city are spent in disadvantaged areas.

PART XIV

RECOMMENDATIONS

PART XIV

RECOMMENDATIONS

We, your Committee on Race and Education, have in this Report discussed what we feel is this community's most serious problem. We know that our school system appreciates the problem and is eager to increase the quality of its outstanding contribution to our community. We know that the community in general is eager to enhance its own future through support of its fine schools. It is in this confident spirit that we offer our recommendations to our schools and to our community, and urge their implementation as promptly as feasible consistent with the internal requirements of individual recommendations.

Recommendations Directly Affecting the School System

A. Model School Program

1) We recommend that the Portland school system establish a Model School Program to bring intensive educational efforts to bear on a number of elementary schools. The Model School Program should be created administratively no later than January 1, 1965, and the Model Schools should be operational in September, 1965. The program should be continued for a minimum of six years. Schools originally chosen for this program should be in reasonable geographic proximity. Model Schools should be those in which the achievement levels are significantly below the city-wide mean and which have a high incidence of social and learning problems. We nominate these schools for consideration for inclusion in the program: Eliot, Boise, Highland, Buckman, Holladay, Humboldt, Whitman, George, Woodlawn and Irvington. If it is not possible to include all ten schools originally, those omitted should be brought into the program as rapidly as possible. In any event, no fewer than six of these schools should be included originally, and these six should include at least two predominantly Negro enrollment schools and at least two predominantly white enrollment schools.

2) We recommend that the Model School Program be placed under an Administrator who shall be directly responsible

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to the Superintendent outside the regular administrative organization. The Administrator's status shall be at least equivalent to that of an assistant superintendent. The Administrator shall have charge of the schools placed under the program and shall develop an instructional program, staff assignment and school organization with the assistance of his principals and teachers. Such arrangements shall be shaped to suit the needs of the particular school and shall be likewise designed to produce useful data on the value of innovations employed. The Administrator shall be appointed and shall commence his planning for the program no later than January 1, 1965, and shall be authorized to employ an Assistant Administrator and such additional staff and clerical assistance as he requires.

3) We recommend that the Administrator be supplied with such additional teaching personnel as is necessary to achieve a teacher-pupil ratio within the program of 1-20. The Administrator shall fix class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios within schools and among schools in the program as he shall deem necessary in order to meet educational needs and to serve various programs under his supervision.

4) We recommend that within the Model School Program the Administrator be authorized to withdraw all or part of the 7th and 8th grade children in Model Schools and establish them in a Model Upper Division Grade School, one objective being to release classrooms to lower class sizes. The Upper Division Model School may be established in a suitable facility such as Couch or in a temporary facility. Where children are required to travel more than one mile to the Upper Division Model School, their transportation cost shall be borne by the School District. The Administrator shall likewise be authorized to provide temporary facilities at Model Schools if necessary to accomplish desirable class sizes and provide facilities for special classes.

5) We recommend that a new school be constructed as rapidly as possible to serve as an Upper Division School if desired, or alternatively as an additional elementary school. The new school building should be constructed so it is suitable for either use by the Model School Program, with attendance boundaries adjusted accordingly. The location should be chosen in accordance with Recommendation 18 below.

6) We recommend that a preschool educational program be established in as many of the ten Model Schools we nominated as possible to provide experiences which will compensate for deficiencies of disadvantaged children at the time they now enter the regular school program. The preschool program should be established on a

voluntary attendance basis to include as large a percentage of children as possible, beginning at age four and preferably at age three, with as long a school day and school year as possible. Consideration should be given to the possible favorable psychological effects of charging a nominal fee, but in any case the major costs should be met at public expense. Special emphasis should be placed on careful statistical analysis of the later performance of preschool program children in comparison with carefully selected controls. We further recommend that, in addition to its own administration of special preschool programs, the School District encourage and co-operate with the private preschool programs being undertaken by several organizations in this city.

7) We recommend that additional funds be provided the principal of each Model School to be used at his discretion for supplementary materials, for transportation of classes on exchange visits and expeditions to enlarge the experience of the children. We also recommend that the Administrator be authorized to re-establish competently staffed individual libraries in schools of the Model Program and to allow them to remain open and staffed after regular hours and during vacations. We also recommend that the Administrator be authorized to use and to experiment with the use of parents and high school and college volunteers to assist in regular and extra-curricular activities, studies and programs.

8) We recommend that the Administrator be authorized to select personnel for his Model Schools as he shall deem necessary. The Administrator should be encouraged to interview principals and teachers in the system to fill vacancies in the Model School Program and his principals should be authorized with his approval to transfer teachers out of the program when they shall deem it necessary.

9) We recommend provision of a full time nurse for each school in the Model School Program; in addition, each Model School should have a full time community agent to assist the principal in planning after-school and evening activities for children and parents, and developing the attendance area's participation in and support for educational improvement. A full time clinical psychologist adequately trained in testing procedures and a psychiatric social worker should be attached to the Administrator's staff.

10) We recommend that the special achievement program as applied to the Model Schools be placed entirely under the supervision of the Administrator.

11) We recommend that in Model Schools, including the Upper Division School, where EE courses or classes are not available for qualified students, that such students be sent part time to attend classes in other schools where such courses are available. Transportation will be paid by the schools. Arrangements for this shall be made by principals of Model Schools with principals of other schools with the approval of the Administrator. Students so selected should be placed in schools where their experience and that of their fellow students will be enlarged by such placement.

12) We recommend that when in the judgment of the Administrator and his staff the education of any child in the Model School Program would be materially improved by transfer to another school in the Portland system, such child shall be transferred provided the parents consent and provided no serious crowding exists in the school to which such child is transferred. Transportation costs shall be provided by the schools. Students so selected shall be placed in schools where their experiences and that of their fellow students will be benefited.

13) We recommend that teachers to be assigned to the Model Schools be given an intensive course during the summer of 1965. Teachers attending the course should receive compensation for the time spent in attendance. The course should encompass the goals of the program and the techniques successfully employed in similar schools. In addition, such programs should be continued in future years for newly assigned teachers. Likewise, the Administrator should be authorized to establish in-service training programs during the regular year to introduce new techniques and to evaluate existing programs.

14) We recommend that the Administrator be authorized to develop programs and procedures to give recognition to teaching excellence and to encourage the development of esprit among teachers, administrative personnel and students.

15) We recommend that the Administrator be authorized to enter formal and informal co-operative arrangements with metropolitan colleges and universities which desire to co-operate in the Model School Program, provided that the Administrator shall retain full authority, supervision and responsibility for such arrangements and may terminate them at his discretion.

16) We recommend that funds allocated for the Model Schools may be used for purposes of the Model School Program other than those listed above, or in other proportions, if experience indicates the superiority of certain remedies, for example, increasing emphasis on preschool education.

17) We recommend that at the conclusion of the Model School Program the School Board and Administration analyze the program's effectiveness in meeting the School District's educational goals with children of depressed backgrounds. Successful techniques should be continued for such children in all portions of the school district.

B. Attendance Policies

18) a) We recommend that District No. 1 continue to employ the neighborhood school, with such modifications for flexibility as we suggest, as the primary means of organizing its schools and fixing pupil attendance.

b) We recommend that, both in planning new construction and in adjusting attendance district boundaries to allow for population shifts at both elementary and secondary levels, the Board shall emphasize as one of the relevant factors the educational desirability and the long-range necessity of reducing and avoiding the concentrations of children with depressed environmental backgrounds or the racial isolation of children.

19) We recommend that all parents shall be given the option of transferring a child from the neighborhood elementary or high school to any other school where a vacancy exists in that child's grade, provided the parent assumes responsibility for the child's transportation and attendance. Once so transferred, a child may continue in that school until graduation from it. Parents with children in the Model School Program shall have first preference for vacancies. We also recommend that the Board review this voluntary transfer policy annually and limit or terminate the same if its impact does not have a generally beneficial effect upon the education of children.

C. Programs and Curriculum

20) We recommend that the Board have the Superintendent undertake a re-evaluation of the adequacy of high school curriculum in light of educational problems which have been the subject of this

Report, using as a committee to do so the Administrator of the Model School Program and such other personnel within and without the school system as he shall see fit.

21) We recommend establishment in the high schools of occupation oriented programs of general education, designed for students who are not college-bound. We recommend that facilities necessary for occupation-oriented general education programs be constructed as additions to existing high schools and be planned as integral parts of new high schools; such facilities should permit specialization in various fields of occupation interest at different high schools. We further recommend that a student regardless of his residence in the District be permitted to attend the high school which offers courses in his area of occupation interest. We further recommend appointment of an additional vice-principal with responsibility for occupation-oriented general education programs in those high schools with such programs. We further recommend that these new programs be given such status reinforcement as necessary to prevent them from being considered a dumping ground for intellectually inferior students, and that every effort be made to interest students in the programs in all school activities.

22) We recommend that institutions of higher education be encouraged to work with high school counselors and with students during their early high school years in order to identify and stimulate potential college candidates who may otherwise fail to develop their capabilities.

23) We recommend a thorough re-evaluation of the special achievement program by qualified disinterested parties, such re-evaluation to include recommendations for any changes which may be indicated in order to emphasize extreme caution in placement, continuous evaluation of a child's capacity to return to regular classes, and constant effort to provide a maximum of education to MR students so that initial cultural deficiencies will not be made irreversable.

24) We recommend, in view of the large proportion of students who are not destined to undertake four years of college, that the Portland Community College in its evolving program place sufficient emphasis on post-high school vocational and technical sequences. This should not be a substitute for the important upgrading of occupation-oriented programs of general education in the high schools but should be a substantial addition and extension of such high school programs.

25) We recommend that the School Board adopt a policy similar to that of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, schools stating that facilities of the Portland Public Schools will not be made available for apprenticeship training to any union or craft that fails to accept in its apprenticeship programs non-white applicants who meet requirements. In order to ascertain the facts of whether qualified non-white apprentices are accepted, we recommend that the schools arrange that those intending to apply for indenture to an apprenticeship committee register their intentions with the director of apprenticeship training of the Portland Public Schools; all such registrations should be routinely followed up by the director to determine the outcome of the request for indenture.

D. Counseling and Guidance

26) We recommend that when the occupation-oriented general education programs are introduced, the work of the vocational counselors be closely integrated into the programs under the direction of the vice principal in charge of the general education program.

27) We recommend that the level of counseling, and especially of vocational counseling, be provided in the various high schools on the basis of need of the students enrolled rather than according to a fixed quantitative formula.

28) We recommend that counseling courses similar to the distributive education course presently used at Roosevelt High School be developed and offered to all high school students who may wish to enroll. The course should include information on job opportunities, requirements and procedures as well as practical information on such matters as taxes, budgeting, pensions, social security and other matters of direct importance to those who will shortly enter the job market.

29) We recommend that vocational counselors in the high schools maintain files of information on post high school courses and training available from the private vocational schools as well as from the Community College in order to acquaint counselees with these opportunities. We further recommend a closer exchange of information between reputable private vocational schools and the Portland schools.

30) We recommend a closer working relationship between the high schools and the Oregon State Employment Service so that vital information about individual students is shared by both agencies in order that both agencies may fully utilize each others' resources. In this regard we recommend a study of the working relationship between the Denver, Colorado, public schools and the Colorado Employment Service.

31) We recommend that there be a more consistent follow up study of Portland high school graduates in order to correlate post-high school accomplishments with in-school achievements as revealed by school records in order to assist in improving school programs.

E. Educating Disadvantaged Children

32) We recommend that both within and without the Model School Program more attention be given the material and cultural needs of disadvantaged children so as to enhance their response to motivational efforts. These children should:

a. Be given more exposure to life's options, ideas and pleasures through recreational and cultural trips, extended school days and summer sessions, club and similar interest activities which will be educational and enjoyable and which will resist surrendering children to the street for longer periods of time.

b. Be given more recognition as individuals.

c. Receive more assistance with material problems, such as inadequate clothing, lack of milk in the diet, lack of breakfast at home, etc., as a means of overcoming physical wants which directly interfere with the learning process.

d. Be provided with more adequate plants to meet particular problems often found among disadvantaged enrollments, including more lavatories to bring facilities nearer classrooms and supervising teachers, and fuller use of and additions to shower facilities in gymnasiums.

e. Be made aware of well-defined discipline codes applying equally to all races in order to offset impressions sometimes held by minority children and parents that a double standard is applied.

f. Be provided with a continuing general orientation program starting early in their school career, stressing the benefits of education in terms they can understand so they will perceive their school role and the reason they are in school.

F. Removal of Prejudice

33) We recommend in order to improve community attitude toward the schools that teachers communicate with community leaders and take interest in problems of the community served by their schools, and that this be regarded as particularly important in Negro communities so that parents and the community will understand that the schools are planning with rather than for the Negro.

34) We recommend that as in athletics, art, music, drama and other activities, the Board consider the establishment of programs which will create the maximum opportunities for children of different races to work with each other toward common goals at levels of proficiency which are substantially comparable, provided again, however, that no discrimination on the basis of race be used in assignment to projects or activities. These opportunities should be designed so as to raise the aspirations of disadvantaged children.

35) We recommend that in the employment of textbooks and study materials the Board make those arrangements which will insure that a reasonable proportion of the text and illustrations portray people who are respresentative of the major ethnic groupings in American life including the American Indian, the European, the Negro, the Asiatic. The purpose of such illustrative materials should be to insure that children as a natural and normal process identify members of all races as component parts of the society in which they are growing up.

36) We recommend that in each social studies class in elementary school and in the American problems classes in high school, teaching units be developed which will emphasize the role of majorities and minorities in American life. In these classes a major effort should be made to point out the importance of the contributions of different races to our society, the significance and the consequences of racial conflict and the factors which give rise to such conflict. Emphasis should be placed upon Negro stereotypes of whites as well as upon white stereotypes of the Negro, both of which impede the evaluation of the worth of the individual

37) We recommend an educational effort through the schools, particularly aimed at parents, to help eliminate false notions, prejudice and discrimination respecting the right of all persons to have freedom of selection of adequate, modern, non-segregated housing.

Recommendations Affecting the Community

1) We recommend that the School Board prepare a master plan which a) describes the problems of segregation, education, race relations and social justice in this community; b) makes suggestions for action by all government and private agencies which might better the climate of equality here; and c) details what the schools have done and are doing to assure equality within the limits of sound educational procedures. We recommend that this master plan, suitably revised at appropriate times, be held out to this community as evidence that the schools are doing their part in satisfying group aspirations and are persuading other agencies to do theirs.

A. Employers and Unions

2) We recommend that the School Board urge employers to demonstrate that effective equal employment opportunities exist regardless of race, religion or national origin, both by adopting public statements to that effect and by co-operating with high school vocational counselors in presenting in-school programs illustrating qualifications expected of potential employees.

3) We recommend that the School Board urge that employers make efforts to hire qualifiable individuals for on-the-job training regardless of aptitude and/or school achievement as determined by conventional tests and measures whenever in personal interviews or upon recommendations of the school teacher or counselor the employer has cause to believe that an applicant is potentially capable.

4) We recommend that the School Board urge that employers provide more apprenticeship opportunities in their own enlightened self-interest. We also recommend that the School Board urge trade and craft unions where shortages of qualified journeymen exist, to join employers who use journeymen in these trades and crafts for joint financing of journeymen-on-the-job teachers for apprenticeship programs in order to make such programs more desirable for both the journeyman and the employer.

B. Government Agencies

5) We recommend that Portland School District No. 1 employ staff to exclusively co-ordinate school dealings on a case-to-case basis with other government units, and insofar as possible to help other government agencies co-ordinate activities among themselves and with the School District.

6) We recommend that Portland School District No. 1 initiate a co-operative demonstration project involving an all-government agency attack on social problems in a pilot area to demonstrate what maximum commitment of resources will do in relieving adverse environmental conditions having an adverse effect on the education of disadvantaged children.

7) We recommend that an appropriate government agency in co-operation with interested private agencies establish a referral service designed to give advice and assistance to Negroes trying to find residence outside Albina. Such assistance should include information on how to seek housing, how to deal with real estate brokers, rental agents and lending institutions. It should also provide assistance in overcoming specific difficulties as they arise. We further recommend that the Portland Development Commission be considered as the appropriate agency to operate the referral service because of its experience in the relocation of families.

8) We recommend that all agencies of the City of Portland enforce building, housing and other codes in order to prevent growth of slum conditions under the pressure of increasing population. We also recommend that the city increase its efforts to provide municipal housekeeping services to depressed areas to obtain results equal to those in other areas.

9) We recommend that the School Board encourage the Housing Authority of Portland to continue its recent efforts to provide a greater voluntary racial balance among its projects; that the Housing Authority study further the need for additional family housing in order to upgrade the environment of many disadvantaged children; that the Housing Authority survey the Albina area to determine the number of families living in substandard housing and that it make long-range plans for an adequate number of public housing units for low-income families, giving consideration to locating future projects so as to further the assimilation of Negroes in Portland.

10) We recommend that as government shows the leadership it should in development of more adequate housing, every effort be made to increase private development of properties in the Albina area under existing financing and modernization loan programs.

C. Privately Financed Organizations

11) We recommend that the acute need for the services of certain privately supported agencies in the Albina area be recognized and that these be financially supported by United Good Neighbors even at the expense of less essential services in other areas.

12) We recommend that UGN, in concert with the Community Council, give high priority to the establishment of an Albina neighborhood center based on the settlement house approach. The staff should include street workers. We are not recommending specific programs for the neighborhood center. These should be evolved as Albina residents identify the problems they think are most important. We further recommend that as results are apparent and as funds can be made available, the neighborhood center concept be expanded, either through branches of the original center or by the establishment of parallel but related programs. These neighborhood centers should be utilized as the focus of other private agency services. In time they should prove particularly effective to those agencies whose programs rely on extensive volunteer leadership.

13) We recommend that a high priority study be undertaken by the UGN and the Community Council, in concert with Albina residents and School District No. 1, to establish the role of privately supported agencies, determining those which can contribute effectively to the educational achievement of disadvantaged youth as distinct from those agencies whose techniques and program content do not lend themselves to an attack on the problem. Implicit in establishing the study would be an expressed conviction by UGN to assess it in conjunction with the priority needs of the community as a whole so that funds can be earmarked for the Albina area on the basis of priorities, agency capabilities, and unmet needs. We further recommend that there be effective and continuing liaison between a working committee embracing the UGN, the Community Council, involved agencies, Albina leadership and School District No. 1 as equally interested and responsible participants to implement the study's recommendations. To make this liaison effective we recommend

that a senior administrative official be designated to represent School District No. 1, and that the School Board commit personnel and facilities as needed.

Respectfully submitted,

Herbert M. Schwab
Chairman

Dr. Melvin W. Breese
Garnett E. Cannon
Mrs. Mercedes F. Deiz
Joseph M. Edgar
Michael J. Frey
John M. Fulton
James W. Goodsell
Mrs. Raymond Graap
John D. Gray
Dr. George V. Guy
Dr. Gordon K. Higginson
E. Shelton Hill
Francis F. Hill
Dr. John R. Howard
Ira C. Keller
Virgil Langtry
Mrs. Ellen Law
George Lightowler

Tom Lawson McCall
Dr. Branford Millar
Rev. Ralph M. Moore
Mrs. Wilma Morrison
Roscoe C. Nelson
Lawrence L. Rennett
Dr. Walter C. Reynolds
Leo Samuel
Samuel B. Stewart
Dr. Richard H. Sullivan
Dr. David Tyack
Raymond P. Underwood
Howard Vollum
Ralph J. Voss
Rev. Paul E. Waldschmidt, C.S.C.
C. Ralph Walstrom
Frank M. Warren
Robert C. Warren
Edward J. Whelan

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SUBCOMMITTEES

The Committee on Race and Education transacted its investigations through subcommittees, six of which were substantive and one an executive subcommittee for co-ordination purposes. Assignment of members to subcommittees and the professional background of members was as follows:

Executive Subcommittee

Hon. Herbert M. Schwab, Chairman
Judge of the Circuit Court

[1] John C. Beatty, Jr.
Attorney

Garnett E. Cannon, President
Standard Insurance Company

John M. Fulton, Corporate Representative of Portland Area
Crown Zellerbach Corporation

Dr. George V. Guy, Chairman
Department of Education
Portland State College

E. Shelton Hill
Executive Director
Urban League of Portland

Ira C. Keller, President
Western Kraft Corporation

Hon. Virgil Langtry
Judge of the Circuit Court

Lawrence L. Kennett
President
White Stag Manufacturing Co.

Samuel B. Stewart
Attorney
Union Pacific Railroad

Rev. Paul E. Waldschmidt, C.S.C.
President
University of Portland

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[1] Resigned from the Committee in August, 1964, following his appointment to the School Board.

School Plant and Operations Subcommittee

Garnett E. Cannon, Chairman
President, Standard Insurance Company

Dr. George V. Guy
Chairman, Department of Education
Portland State College

George Lightowler, Secretary
Food & Drug Clerks' Union,
Local 1092

Mrs. Wilma Morrison
Associate Professor of Journalism
and Exec. Officer for Journalism
Portland State College

Roscoe C. Nelson
Attorney

Dr. David Tyack
Professor of Education
Reed College

Raymond P. Underwood
Attorney

Howard Vollum
President
Tektronix, Inc.

Frank M. Warren, President
Portland General Electric Co.

Racial Residential Patterns Subcommittee

Ira C. Keller, Chairman
President, Western Kraft Corporation

C. Ralph Walstrom, President
Property Counselors, Inc.

Mrs. Mercedes F. Deiz
Attorney

James W. Goodsell, Editor
Oregon Labor Press

Dr. Branford Millar, President
Portland State College

Community and Home Environment Subcommittee

Lawrence L. Rennett, Chairman
President, White Stag Manufacturing Co.

Rev. Ralph M. Moore, Minister
Highland United Church of Christ

Dr. John R. Howard, President
Lewis & Clark College

Mrs. Ellen Law, Teacher
Jefferson High School

[2]E. C. Sammons
Chairman of the Board
U. S. National Bank

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[2] Resigned from the Committee in October, 1963, when unable to participate because of time demands.

Youth Employment Qualifications and Opportunity Subcommittee

Rev. Paul E. Waldschmidt, C.S.C., Chairman
President, University of Portland

E. Shelton Hill
Executive Director
Urban League of Portland

Dr. Melvin W. Breese
Physician

[3]Thomas E. Bolger
General Manager
Pacific Northwest Bell Co.

Joseph M. Edgar, Secretary
Teamsters' Union, Local 162

Mrs. Raymond Graap
Housewife

John D. Gray, President
Omark Industries

Dr. Richard H. Sullivan, President
Reed College

Robert C. Warren, President
Cascade Corporation

Government Agencies Subcommittee

Hon. Virgil Langtry, Chairman
Judge of the Circuit Court

Dr. Gordon K. Higginson
Professor of Psychology,
Rehabilitation Institute of
Oregon

Francis F. Hill, President
Northwest Natural Gas Co.

Tom Lawson McCall
Television commentator
KGW-TV

Dr. Walter C. Reynolds
Physician and Surgeon

Leo Samuel
Samuel, Swett Insurance Agency

[4]The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. Tobin
Vicar General of the Archdiocese of
Portland in Oregon

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[3] Resigned from the Committee in March, 1964, when transferred to Seattle.

[4] Unable to participate in deliberations because of absences from country on church duties.

Private Agencies Subcommittee

John M. Fulton, Chairman
Corporate Representative of Portland Area
Crown Zellerbach Corporation

Michael J. Frey
Publisher and President
The Oregonian Publishing Co.

[5]Clifford J. Campbell
Consultant
Ford Foundation

Ralph J. Voss, President
First National Bank of Oregon

Edward J. Whelan
Executive Secretary
Multnomah County Labor Council

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[5] Resigned from the Committee in February, 1964, due to necessary frequent absences from city on business.

APPENDIX B

COMMITTEE AUTHORITY

The Committee on Race and Education was created by resolution of the Board of Education, Multnomah County School District No. 1, in July, 1963. The text of the resolution was as follows:

RESOLVED, that this board does hereby order that there shall be constituted a committee of citizens of the Portland area to be appointed by the Board as quickly as reasonably possible which shall be responsible for studying the following three questions and of reporting to the Board its findings:

> 1) Does the Portland school district, to any extent, deprive the children of one race of educational opportunities equal to those of other races? If so, what corrective steps should be taken?
>
> 2) What might be done to improve achievement of students in culturally deprived areas of the city in meeting the educational objectives of this school system?
>
> 3) What might the school system do through its educational processes to eliminate unreasoned prejudice in the minds of children of one race against persons of another race?

Such committee shall be free to consider any information and approaches which it may deem helpful for the purpose of finding factual and logical answers to such questions. The questions asked by the Board are intended to include, among other things, all aspects of the problem of the education of disadvantaged children, such as the motivation of learners, the attitudes of parents, the racial distribution of children in the Portland schools, the qualifications of teachers, methods of grouping, the racial characteristics of learners, the effect, if any, of racial distribution of pupils on achievement, deficiencies of homes and communities and any other conditions or circumstances relevant to the questions posed above.

Such committee is to commence work as soon as possible after it is appointed and is to report to the Board with respect to each problem which it undertakes to study as quickly as possible consistent with the formation of sound conclusions and in any event is to give the Board a progress report on January 1, 1964, and again on June 1, 1964. The district shall provide to such committee such secretarial staff and such accommodations as it may reasonably require, shall designate a member of its administrative staff to work in liaison with the committee and upon request by the committee shall consider employment or appointment of other personnel to assist the committee in connection with its work. The committee shall feel free to present requests to the Board from time to time in the event that it deems important that there be provision of some budgetary allowance to it or that personnel be appointed for service to it.

APPENDIX C

ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE

The Committee on Race and Education adopted and operated under the following Statement of Organization and Procedure:

1. Organization of the Committee

The Committee shall consist of the General Chairman and 42 members, each of whom shall have one vote in those matters considered by the committee. The committee shall be divided into an Executive Committee and 6 subcommittees as follows:

1) Subcommittee on school plant and operations.
2) Subcommittee on youth employment qualification and opportunity.
3) Subcommittee on effect of racial residential patterns on school enrollment and achievement.
4) Subcommittee on the effect of community and home environment on educational achievement.
5) Subcommittee on the relation of private youth serving agencies to educational achievement.
6) Subcommittee on the relation of governmental agencies to educational achievement.

2. Organization of the Executive Committee

The General Chairman shall appoint a chairman and a vice chairman for each subcommittee and after consultation with subcommittee chairmen, shall assign the members of the committee to subcommittees. The chairman of each subcommittee, together with the General Chairman and 4 members-at-large shall constitute the Executive Committee, which shall have responsibility for directing the committee's investigation. The General Chairman, in addition to presiding over the committee and the Executive Committee, and directing the staff, shall be ex officio a non-voting member of each subcommittee. The Executive Committee shall adopt such methods of procedure as it shall deem necessary and may conduct such inquiries as it may deem necessary to assist and supplement the subcommittees. A majority of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum, and the same number shall be necessary to adopt any measure.

3. The Executive Secretary

The Executive Secretary shall work under the supervision of the General Chairman and shall attend all meetings of the Committee and, where possible, all subcommittee meetings. He shall supervise the staff, maintain a library, control distribution of minutes, directives, and reports. He shall provide clerical assistance to subcommittees and assist them in research and arrangements upon request.

4. Procedures in Subcommittee

a. Each subcommittee shall be presided over by its chairman, who shall be responsible for directing the subcommittee's work. The vice chairman shall preside in his stead and be responsible for relieving the chairman and carrying on the subcommittee's work when the chairman is absent or otherwise prevented from performing such tasks. In consequence, the vice chairman shall bear a joint responsibility with his chairman.

b. A majority of the subcommittee, exclusive of the General Chairman sitting ex officio, shall constitute a quorum and the same shall be the number necessary to adopt any measure.

c. Each subcommittee shall meet as necessary and proceed with its investigation, submitting progress reports and tentative recommendations to the Executive Committee at such times as the Executive Committee shall designate.

d. In the course of their investigations subcommittees will be expected to review pertinent material, conduct interviews, and engage in research as necessary. The committee staff will be available to assist as will other agencies lending staff support. But the subcommittee will be responsible for the accuracy of the material it produces, for the quality of the judgments which it makes, and for the wisdom of its recommendations.

e. Subcommittees are encouraged to conduct interviews and receive testimony, but will not conduct public hearings as such. All full committee members will receive notice of subcommittee meetings and may attend. Only members of the Executive Committee may participate in subcommittee discussion, except that upon request of a subcommittee chairman, any full committee member may express his views as any other witness invited to appear.

f. When interviews are conducted or when testimony is received, a copy of the minutes of such testimony will be promptly furnished to the person interviewed or testifying. The subcommittee chairman shall be responsible for prompt distribution of minutes of each meeting to the Executive Secretary, who will arrange distribution of those minutes, as well as progress reports and tentative recommendations to all members of the full committee, each of whom will be provided with an appropriately indexed binder.

g. The progress reports and the final report of each subcommittee shall be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee and shall include any dissenting report or comment. No member may dissent generally, but must specify in writing all of his reasons for dissenting from the subcommittee report. It is, of course, anticipated that divisions of opinion and in voting will occur in the give and take of deliberation and will not normally produce dissent in the final report.

h. The final report of each subcommittee shall be reviewed by the Executive Committee. It may be referred back to the subcommittee for further consideration on any point. After such review, the reports of all subcommittees shall be transmitted by the Executive Committee to the full committee, together with the Executive Committee's comments upon the reports and recommendations concerning them.

5. Procedure in Full Committee

a. The full committee shall meet on call of the General Chairman or the Executive Committee.

b. The full committee shall meet to consider adoption of these rules of organization and procedure, to approve the appointments of the Executive Secretary and the chairmen and the vice chairmen of the several subcommittees.

c. From time to time the Executive Committee may call meetings of the full committee to receive and discuss progress reports and tentative recommendations of particular subcommittees. The full committee may, by resolution or otherwise, express its tentative views on such reports and recommendations, which may then be considered by the subcommittee concerned, but such views shall be advising only and not binding upon the subcommittee as it continues its study.

d. The final reports of the several subcommittees, together with the comments of the Executive Committee, shall constitute the draft final report which shall be submitted to the full committee. The full committee shall consider the draft final report and discuss the same section by section unless this requirement be waived by 3/4 of the membership of the committee.

e. In all of its actions 25 members shall constitute a quorum of the committee and 22 shall be necessary to adopt a measure.

f. Following adoption of a final report the Executive Committee shall be authorized to rearrange the order in which points are presented, to introduce background and explanatory matter and to effect changes in style but not substance in the final report, which shall then be presented to the members for signature.

g. Each member will be expected to sign the report or dissent therefrom in whole or in part. No member shall merely dissent generally but he shall submit a dissent in writing which shall be specific and which shall enumerate all of the reasons upon which he relies. The report and dissents, if any, shall be submitted and published in the same document.

6. Rules of Order

Robert's Rules of Order shall guide the committee and its subcommittees in all their deliberations when other procedure is not specified, unless a more informal regimen be unanimously adopted.

7. Fiscal

Authorization of expenditures shall be by the General Chairman in accordance with policy established by the Executive Committee.

8. Publicity

a. Membership on the committee shall in no wise constitute a limitation upon the right of members to express their personal views concerning any matters, but members will be expected to exercise discretion in making public statements which might be misinterpreted as reflecting committee views or as indicating a mind closed to inquiry.

b. No public statement shall be made by any member other than the General Chairman, and he only with the approval of the Executive Committee, concerning the committee's work. Discretion shall be exercised concerning private statements relating to the committee's work.

APPENDIX D

OBSERVATIONS ON GOVERNMENT AGENCY PERFORMANCE

As a part of its responsibility the Subcommittee on the Relation of Governmental Agencies to Educational Achievement inquired into the operations of a number of non-school government agencies, particularly in Albina, and the state of co-operation between such agencies and the schools. The subcommittee's observations on individual agencies are reported in this Appendix.

Agency Effect on Achievement

There is no escaping the conclusion that many government agencies touch the lives of most Albina children. Among these are welfare, police, juvenile court, health departments, housing agencies and recreation departments.

These agencies could, with well-mounted programs, in some measure compensate for economic and cultural deprivation faced by the children. On the other hand, poor agency performance reinforces economic and cultural deprivation. It seems apparent that government agencies through their programs can better the emotional and mental climate for children, thus improving the schools' opportunity to prepare them for lives of productive citizenship.

Our belief that this is true is reinforced by school personnel testifying before us.[1] The best designed school program cannot reach the youngster who comes to school hungry, who is ill-clothed, who comes from a home with distressing physical and moral characteristics, for whom violence is a common experience, who is at times entangled with legal authorities in situations he cannot understand, and who sees all around him the evidence of a closed society.

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[1] W. B. Richter, Minutes of the meeting, November 4, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies; and Frank E. Brown, Roy Malo, Minutes of the meeting, November 12, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

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The testimony presented by school people in this regard is amply reinforced by the evidence of agencies charged with improving the climate.

Since government agencies are charged with making a community a fit, safe place to live, the adequacy of that service has a direct bearing on the ability of residents to function. Functioning is difficult in an area in which government police and social services are substandard.

Most socio-economic disadvantaged sections of School District No. 1 are areas in which functioning is relatively difficult. It appears to be most difficult in Albina, in that ghettoization and the disadvantages of color have been added to the socio-economic difficulties under which many of its residents function.

Children, being less able to defend themselves from the manifestations of an adverse environment, are more prone to be hurt. Their difficulties bear directly on their ability to acquire, through education, tools with which to break out of the closed environment.[2] Adequate government services could help compensate for these difficulties.

Welfare Department

The County Welfare Department administers a number of assistance programs under the direction of a County Welfare Commission and a State Welfare Commission. These programs include: general assistance to elderly indigents not eligible for federally-assisted relief; old-age assistance to elderly indigents under a direct federal program; aid to indigent families with dependent children either because of broken homes and abandonment or parent unemployment; aid to the disabled; aid to the blind; medical aid to the aged; a variety of child casework services; and assistance to children who for one reason or another must be placed in foster homes. Federal funds contribute about 45% of the necessary revenue for these programs, state funds contribute about 39%, and county funds about 16%.[3]

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[2] Frank E. Brown, Leslie W. Lee, Minutes of the meeting, October 25, 1963, Subcommittee on Community and Home Environment.

[3] Oregon Blue Book, 1963-1964 (Salem, Oregon: Secretary of State, 1963), pp. 82-83.

The incidence of welfare cases is naturally high in depressed areas. In Albina it is reliably estimated that 30 to 35% of the residents receive welfare assistance in one form or another. While Multnomah County has areas of white residence in which the same adverse environmental factors are present to an apparent equal degree, the incidence of welfare among Albina Negroes is greater than among whites of other disadvantaged areas. The cause of this, it is speculated, is the greater frustration Negroes face in "climbing out" of disadvantaged circumstances.

There is a recognizable difference in the seriousness of Caucasian and Negro welfare cases. The Multnomah County Welfare Department has found a high proportion of Albina cases where social damage is so great that counselors have extreme difficulty in working with them. Children of such families fall within the group which many school people regard as having low motivation and achievement and which are regarded as being the most frequent troublemakers.

The test of welfare effectiveness is whether socially-damaged persons can be rehabilitated and returned to productive life, off the welfare rolls. By this test, welfare work in Albina is not as effective as welfare personnel believe it should be. The size of case load is a significant factor; caseworkers do not have time to devote to individual cases -- time which might cause families to realistically face their problems and do something about them. The value of lower case loads has been demonstrated.[4]

The state of school-welfare co-operation varies. The immediate past director of the Welfare Department believes co-operation is good, although he believes some school people are occasionally critical of his department because welfare cannot do as much for some children as the schools feel should be done.[5] School sources indicate in some cases welfare worker-school principal exchanges of information are close and valuable, and that the state of co-operation depends on the individual welfare caseworker and the time demands of his case load.[6]

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[4] Gus Lange, Minutes of the meeting, October 21, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Frank E. Brown, Minutes of the meeting, November 12, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

Juvenile Department

Studies indicate 7% of Portland's Negro youngsters come to the attention of juvenile authorities at one time or another, compared to 3 1/2% of white children. But the Multnomah County Juvenile Department's director observes no difference in the handling of juvenile offenders of different races.

The Juvenile Department recognizes limitations in its effectiveness. Its counselors carry average case loads of 50 to 55 and as a result do an inadequate job with many cases. (The average case load adds some 12 to 15 per month and drops a similar number.) The youth who tends to get attention is the incorrigible who is so socially damaged he is beyond remedy. A counselor must spend about 80% of his time with such cases. It is with these that the greatest number of failures occur.

Program emphasis is subject to criticism, and brings self-criticism from those who operate it. Institutional care comes too late to effect cures; even though a youth will respond while institutionalized, he often reverts to former behavior when returned to the environment which caused his original difficulties. The community is preoccupied in dealing with children who are overtly hostile and has no time for younger children whose hostility is latent but will, in time, be overt. School personnel share the blame for this. They sometimes summon assistance for overtly hostile cases and tell juvenile workers not to worry about the younger children who are not yet giving trouble.

It is inevitable that delinquency will increase no matter how many courts, police and prisons are acquired to deal with the problem; it will increase until the potential delinquent is identified early in his school career and is assisted in facing his real problems. Such potential delinquents can be identified rather early in the grades, and are so identified, but compensating resources are unavailable.

The state of school-Juvenile Department co-operation fluctuates from school to school and from time to time. There is mutual criticism, most of it constructive. It arises primarily from misunderstandings by both agencies of the other's policies and limiations. The fact is that the Juvenile Department has well over 100 schools with which it must deal, and many of these schools have more problems than either the Department or school staffs can handle.

A school can normally expect 3% of its students to be "hard core" discipline cases; in at least one Albina area school the figure is 5%, and the incidence of Negroes in the discipline-problem group of this school is far greater than their proportion in the student body.

The schools also have difficult problems with youths returned to classes following institutional confinement. Many such youths have difficulty bridging the gap between regulated institutional living and the return to a more open environment in which they again face choices. Some communities have attempted to bridge this gap with adjustment schools for those returned from institutions, prior to their placement back in regular classes.[7]

Housing Authority

The Housing Authority of Portland has been criticized by several community groups for what is alleged to be racial discrimination in assignment of units. It has been alleged that Negro applicants for low rent housing have been primarily channeled into one project, Maple Mallory, located in Albina. The Negro proportion of occupancy in Maple Mallory was almost 90% last December; the next highest proportion of Negro occupancy in any Housing Authority project was slightly more than 9%.

Such allegations of discrimination have been denied by Housing Authority officers and staff. Several independent investigations of the agency have failed to find evidence of overt discrimination. Authority critics cite Negro concentration in certain projects as circumstancial evidence that discrimination exists. The Portland Commission on Human Rights recommended that a master list assignment plan be used to break up racial concentration patterns.

Regardless of the factors which brought about the concentration, it is interesting to note that since criticism of the Authority became intense last year, the rate of Negro occupancy in some non-Albina projects has risen, and the rate at Maple Mallory has fallen. The changes have been slight, but the Housing Authority's executive director states that greater integration has occurred because of

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[7] W. B. Richter, Al Green, Minutes of the meeting, November 4, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies; and Frank E. Brown, Roy Malo, Minutes of the meeting, November 12, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

Occupancy and Race Characteristics of Housing Authority of Portland Projects

Project and Address	*Units in Project	*Negro Units	% Negro	+Negro Preschl	+N/Negro Preschl	+Negro El. Age	+N/Negro El. Age	+Negro HS Age	+N/Negro HS Age	Schools Attended
Columbia Villa 8920 N. Woolsey	440	40	9.1	69	419	77	262	22	48	Ball (K-3) Portsmouth (4-8) Roosevelt High
Dekum Court N.E. Dekum & Saratoga	86	3	3.5	0	100	6	35	1	9	Faubion (K-8) Grant High
Iris Court 300 N. Sumner	54	5	9.3	8	47	3	17	1	5	Humboldt (K-4) Highland (5-8) Jefferson High
Royal Rose Court 5011 N. Vancouver (All elderly)	36	3	8.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	Humboldt (K-4) Highland (5-8) Jefferson High
Maple Mallory 3820 N.E. Mallory	54	48	88.9	26	1	8	1	2	1	Highland (K-8) Jefferson High
Northwest Tower 335 N.W. 19th Avenue	180	2	1.1	1	32	0	1	0	2	Couch (K-8) Lincoln High
Peaceful Villa 4626 S.E. Clinton	66	1	1.5	0	0	0	2	0	4	Richmond (K-8) Franklin High
TOTALS	916	102	11.1	104	599	94	318	26	69	

*Information furnished orally by Gene Rossman, December 2, 1963.

+Information furnished by Housing Authority in letter to Judge Schwab, December 13, 1963.

particular efforts by staff members and by a committee of the Portland Council of Churches to channel Negroes into non-Albina projects.[8] The extent of the change can be seen in Tables A-1 and A-2. Table A-1 indicates the racial distribution as of December, 1963, and A-2 indicates the changes in distribution as of May, 1964.

Table A-2

Changes in Housing Authority Racial Composition
December, 1963 to May, 1964

Project	December % Negroes	Non-Negroes in May	Negroes in May	May % Negroes
Columbia Villa	9.1	378	61	14
Dekum Court	3.5	78	7	10
Maple Mallory	88.9	10	38	79
Iris Court	9.3	40	14	26

The Housing Authority is of interest to this Committee for three reasons: 1) concentrations of Negroes in certain projects could affect the racial and socio-economic makeup of neighborhood schools serving the areas in which projects are located; 2) the availability of low-cost public housing to disadvantaged Negro families could be an important factor in the environment of Negro school children; 3) the existence of discriminatory project assignments or, if discrimination does not exist, the widespread belief that it does exist, would contribute to the feeling of racial isolation felt by the Negro community in general, and through that community by Negro school children in particular.

1) Concentration Effect on School Enrollment: The disparity of Negro occupancy between public housing projects, as shown in Table A-1 should have an effect on the spread of Negro children in public schools. That is, if Negro housing occupancy is high in Albina and light in other areas, one would assume that

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[8] Gene W. Rossman, "Reminder" (May meeting of Council of Churches-Housing Authority Joint Committee), Portland: Housing Authority, 1964, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

housing projects are contributing large numbers of Negro children to Albina schools where the proportion of Negroes in the student body is already large, and is contributing few Negroes to schools where the Negro proportion of the enrollment is low. However, such an assumption is not borne out by fact; the actual contribution of Negro children to schools is the reverse.

It is seen that Maple Mallory, which was 89% Negro and is cited as having an adverse effect on racial balance at Highland, actually contributed only eight Negro children of elementary age whereas the Highland Negro enrollment approximated 840 in September, 1963. Maple Mallory also contributed one Negro student to Jefferson High School, where the Negro enrollment approximated 600. On the other hand, it is seen that Columbia Villa, where the Negro occupancy ran only 9%, contributed significantly larger numbers of Negro children to schools where the proportion of Negro enrollment was low: 77 elementary children lived in the project and two elementary schools serving the area had only 69 Negro pupils; 22 high school age youngsters lived in the project and only 65 Negroes attended the area's high school, Roosevelt, at the beginning of the 1963-64 school year. Thus, high-Negro-occupancy-rate Maple Mallory had little effect on racial balance in schools it fed, while low-Negro-occupancy-rate Columbia Villa sent much larger numbers of Negro children to schools in which the proportion of Negro enrollment was lower.

This results because Maple Mallory was designed for elderly or small family tenancy and is a small project as well. Columbia Villa has units designed for larger families and is a large project; while its percentage of Negro occupancy was small, in actual numbers it had only eight fewer Negro families than Maple Mallory.

Thus, the spread of Negro occupancy in Housing Authority projects, though interesting, cannot be said to have an adverse effect on racial balance in public schools at this time. This does not mean that this situation cannot change, especially if new Albina-area public housing projects were undertaken. In fact, until quite recently the Housing Authority sought to build a project, the Daisy Williams Project, on one of several proposed Albina sites; the City Council has tabled HAP's most recent proposal in this regard.[9] Should such a project be built it would probably tend to be heavily Negro in population (if past Housing Authority history is any criterion) and further increase the Negro student concentration in one or more Albina schools.

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[9] Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies, pp. 36-37.

2) Availability of Low Cost Family Public Housing: It seems obvious from the findings of other subcommittees and from appearances that poor housing is an environmental fact for many disadvantaged children attending certain Portland schools. Thus, there is a need for more family public housing units. Housing Authority staff recognize this need. But in assigning priority they believe the group most in need of housing in Portland is the elderly, particularly those being dispossessed by government activity.[10]

Table A-3 shows the present breakdown of size of units in various HAP projects. It should be read in connection with HAP's requirements that a one-child family can be accommodated in a two-bedroom unit, a two-child family requires either a two-or three-bedroom unit depending on whether the children are or are not of the same sex, a three-child family requires a three-bedroom unit, a four-child family requires a three-or four-bedroom unit depending on the sex distribution of the children, and a five-child family requires a four-bedroom unit.

Table A-3

Size of Housing Authority of Portland's Units by Project

Project	0-Bed	1-Bed	2-Bed	3-Bed	4-Bed	Total
Columbia Villa	0	72	228	110	30	440
Dekum Court	0	13	52	21	0	86
Maple Mallory	0	24	24	0	0	48
Iris Court	0	0	53	1	0	54
Northwest Tower	75	75	27	3	0	180
Royal Rose Ct.	0	36	0	0	0	36
Peaceful Villa	0	54	12	0	0	66
TOTALS	75	274	396	135	30	910

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[10] Ibid., p. 37.

Thus, of the Housing Authority's 910 present units, only 165, or 18%, are of sufficient size to accommodate a family with three school age children, and these are concentrated in two projects: Columbia Villa and Dekum Court. It should be added that HAP has plans for approximately 100 additional family units in a project to be located near Cleveland High School.[11]

It seems apparent that additional low cost public or private housing is necessary for families of disadvantaged children. Also, the rather small present availability, if coupled with a discriminatory policy toward Negroes, would result in additional difficulty in obtaining a better environment for the group which appears to produce the largest proportionate number of disadvantaged children for the Portland schools, the Negroes.

In that regard, the racial makeup of Portland public housing is interesting in comparison with that of other West Coast cities.[12]

Table A-4

Racial Characteristics of Public Housing in Major West Coast Cities
December, 1963

City	1960 Pop.	% Pop. Negro	% Public Housing Negro	Range Negro Percentage Project Occupancy
Portland	372,298	4.2	11.1	1.1 - 88.9
Seattle	557,087	4.7	20.0	14.0 - 25.0
San Francisco	740,316	9.9	57.0	0.0 - 99.0[13]
Los Angeles	2,481,456	13.5	60.0	12.0 - 99.0

The Negro usage of public housing in Portland was 11% in December, 1963. If Portland use were as heavy as it is in Seattle, the figure would be 18%. If it were as heavy as in San Francisco it would be 24%. If usage were as heavy here as in Los Angeles, it would be 19%. In other words, Negro usage of public housing in Portland is less than other West Coast cities. This fact must be examined in the light of two more facts: low socio-economic families, particularly Negroes, need more public housing; and the preponderance of non-family units in HAP projects.

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Figures provided by Housing Authorities in the cities listed.

[13] The San Francisco project with no Negroes is virtually all-Oriental. Two other projects have 3% Negro occupancy.

3) Public Housing and Racial Isolation: Whether the concentration of Portland Negroes in one project in Albina is the result of overt or covert discrimination, or the result of Negro preference, or the result of happinstance, is of little effect when it comes to the subject of "racial isolation" and its subconscious effect upon scholastic achievement by those who feel isolated.

The Negro child is a product of all the forces brought to bear on Negroes in his community; it has been shown that this product is generally poorer scholastically. One cause is the impression given Negro youngsters that they are isolated some place to the side of the mainstream of American political, social and economic culture. They feel racially isolated, and unless one is isolated on the basis of race he cannot really understand racial isolation's effect upon motivation and achievement.

One small factor in creating this feeling of racial isolation is the community impression that the Housing Authority of Portland, for whatever reason, has placed Negroes in certain projects.

Our data reveal that the facilities of the Housing Authority of Portland are used in a lesser degree by Portland Negroes than in other West Coast cities. It also shows that these facilities are used in a different fashion by Negroes, because in Los Angeles 60% of public housing is occupied by Negroes and there are Negroes in every project; in San Francisco 57% of the units are Negro-occupied and there are Negroes in every project but one and it is almost entirely Oriental; and in Seattle 20% of the units are used by Negroes and there is an approximate even distribution between projects. On the other hand, in Portland 11% of the units are Negro-occupied and there is an apparent segregation no matter how it evolved.

The child is a product of his milieu, and if his environment in Portland is significantly different from other children, or of children of his own group in other cities, that fact is noteworthy. It is especially noteworthy in connection with the child's feeling that he is being discriminated against, whether or not he actually is discriminated against, and the effect of this impression upon his feeling of total place in the total community.

The Portland Negro child feels racially isolated. The logistics of the Housing Authority and the controversies over them have added to that feeling. Efforts on the part of responsible officials to provide a more even spread of Negro occupancy in public housing projects would be one small factor in alleviating the feeling of racial isolation of both Negro children and adults. As we have noted, joint Housing Authority-Council of Churches efforts during 1964 have made progress toward further housing project integration.

It is obvious that unwise location of new projects in such a way as to foster further segregation would also foster increased feelings of racial isolation.

Planning Commission

The Portland Planning Commission has a major impact on neighborhood environment both through its immediate zoning powers and its long-term planning, both for municipal and school purposes.

The state of Planning Commission-school co-operation appears to be good. District No. 1 contributes financially to Planning Commission payroll and in return receives services equivalent to about one-half staff member for school and community growth projections and for advice in site selection. In this the Planning Commission does not make school location policy decisions, but makes recommendations based on criteria furnished by the schools.[14]

Park Bureau, Recreation Department

The Portland Bureau of Parks, through its Recreation Department, is in a position to make substantial contributions to the well-being of youth in Albina, both directly and indirectly.

Recreational activities are offered on a substantial scale during the summers at most city parks and playgrounds and at some school facilities. Somewhat more limited programs are offered during the school year. These summer and winter programs run the gamut from crafts to vigorous activities, with an emphasis on male sports insofar as younger people are involved.

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[14] Lloyd Keefe, Minutes of the meeting, December 9, 1963, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

Park personnel believe the Albina area receives a higher level of service and staff than other sections of the city, although Negro participation in Albina-centered programs may be less than that of non-Negroes. Several Albina schools are involved, as well as community centers operated by the Recreation Department at Knott Street Center, Overlook Park, Peninsula Park and six playgrounds in and around the area.

Recreation Department witnesses believe co-operation between the schools and the Park Bureau to be poor. They believe city recreation programs take second place to school activities in assignment of facilities in schools after school hours, and that a one time intimate relationship between city recreation personnel and the schools has in recent years been replaced by a coolness.

The Recreation Department hires substantial numbers of full time and part time personnel. Its hiring practices have been attacked from the standpoint of racial discrimination. Recreation witnesses did not believe Negro participation in recreation activities would be improved by the use of more Negro personnel in Albina.[15]

Health Bureau

Health problems are a significant factor in the Albina environment and have an irrefutable effect on school achievement. These, plus the fact that School District No. 1's school nursing is furnished by the City Bureau of Health and the County Health Department, makes health agency programs important in the educational picture.

Teachers, school administrators and medical officials describe health hazards, particularly infectious skin disorders, as severe in the Albina schools -- more severe than is found in schools located in non-Negro culturally disadvantaged areas. In daily clinics to which are referred suspected contagious conditions from all schools, it is found that approximately half the patient-youngsters are Negro. School personnel located in Albina schools believe there is a great need for more attention from public health nurses and also for instruction in ordinary hygiene commonly acquired by middle class children in their homes.

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[15] Dorthea Lensch, Harry Buckley, Minutes of the meeting, January 20, 1964, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

Health services for District No. 1 schools located within the city limits of Portland (89 schools) are provided by the City Bureau of Public Health. The school district pays the city approximately $110,000 a year for this service; the sum represents 40 per cent of the Bureau of Health's budget for public nursing services, although it is estimated that the city's public health nurses devote more than 40 per cent of their time to the schools.

Health services equivalent to those received from the Portland Bureau of Health for schools in the city are furnished free of charge by the Multnomah County Health Department for District No. 1 schools located outside the city of Portland and in Multnomah County (15 schools). The County Health Department furnishes such uncompensated health services to all non-Portland schools in the county, including schools located in other municipalities.

This creates the anomaly of taxpayers in Portland paying for school health services to the school district, to the city and to the county, and receiving the services from the city; taxpayers outside Portland but in School District No. 1 pay for health services to the district and the county, and receive the services from the county; and taxpayers in the county and outside the district pay the county for service and get it from the county.

The city has 35 public health nurses in the field, theoretically giving 40 per cent of their time to school work. They are assigned to school areas on the basis of population, although size of area which must be covered and the incidence of health problems is also considered in assignments.

We have heard evidence that insufficient nurse time is spent in schools and in tracing home health problems which cause school trouble. This is most noted in Albina area schools where problems are greatest. This evidence has come from the schools and from health officers as well. The limitation is money. Furthermore, health services are among items most likely to be cut during a budget crisis. For instance, in 1960 voters failed to approve a special levy and virtually all nurse services were eliminated for schools within the city for the 1961-62 school year.[16]

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[16] Dr. William Snook, Margaret Payton, Minutes of the meeting, March 9, 1964, Subcommittee on Government Agencies.

APPENDIX E

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